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SHAKESPEARE
KING RICHARD II.

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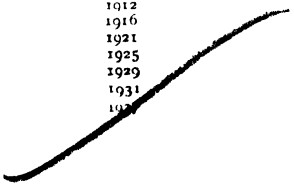
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NOTE.

I MUST acknowledge my obligations to other editors, especially Professor Rolfe, and to various standard works. Among the latter is Mr Stone's invaluable edition of the parts of Holinshed that illustrate Shakespeare. The "Extracts from Holinshed" (pp. 195-217) should receive careful attention, not only for their relation to *Richard II*, but as specimens of Elizabethan English. They might, I think, be used as a separate reading lesson, as well as studied in connection with the text.

The Indexes were compiled for me

A. W. V.

~~December~~, 1898

NOTE TO THE THIRD EDITION

THE metrical "Hints" added to this edition aim at giving in a small compass the gist of what is commonly agreed upon as to the development and variations of Shakespeare's blank verse. It is almost superfluous to mention my obligations to Dr Abbott's *Shakespearean Grammar*, which deals more or less with the subject-matter of each of the sections of the "Hints." I am also indebted to other writers and to friends

A. W. V.

March, 1900

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INTRODUCTION.

I.

DATE OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE PLAY.

Richard II. was entered on the Register of the Stationers' Company on August 29, 1597. It was published *Published in* anonymously in Quarto in 1597, under the title: 1597.

"The Tragedie of King Richard the Second, *As it hath been* *publikely acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine* *his Servants.*"

It was republished in Quarto, with Shakespeare's name, in 1598. A third Quarto was issued in 1608, "with new additions of the Parliament Sceane, and the deposing of King Richard, as it hath been lately acted by the Kinges Majesties servantes, at the Globe." This third Quarto was reprinted in 1615, and a copy of the reprint, corrected, it is thought, from a stage-copy of the play, was made the basis of the text in the 1st Folio, 1623. As regards the comparative merits of these early editions, the opinion of the best judges is that the 1st Folio affords the most reliable text of the "new additions," and the 1st Quarto of all the rest of the play.

II.

THE "NEW ADDITIONS."

The "new additions" in the 3rd Quarto (1608) are the deposition-scene (IV. 1. 154—318). That this scene formed part of the play as originally written is hardly open to doubt. Without it the fourth Act would be very short and very weak. One can scarcely believe that Shakespeare would not have brought the two great characters of the piece together once more after the meeting in the third Act. The dramatic possibilities of a final scene of contrast were not likely to escape him. Again, the words of the Abbot, "A woeful pageant have we here beheld" (IV. 1. 321), which describe so aptly, from his point of view, the deposition of the king, do not apply very well to anything in the scene prior to line 154. Finally, the style of the "new additions" harmonises completely with the rest of the play.

The deposition-scene; no doubt, part of the original play. It is, in fact, clear that lines 154—318 were written at the same time as the rest of the Act; and contemporary circumstances make it equally clear why they were omitted from the Quartos of 1597 and 1598, and, no doubt, from the version that was acted.

Why omitted from the early Quartos. It was not a time to touch on the subject of the deposition of a monarch. The very year (1596) before the publication of *Richard II.* the Pope had issued a Bull inciting Elizabeth's subjects to rebellion; he had previously (1570) issued a Bull releasing them from allegiance to their Queen, and had sent his benediction to the Armada in 1587, the success of which would have resulted, presumably, in Elizabeth's deposition. Elizabeth herself compared her position with that of the deposed Richard. She was being shown the Records of the Tower, and when she came to those of

Parallel between Richard II. and Queen Elizabeth. Richard's reign exclaimed, "I am Richard II.; know ye not that?" Another contemporary incident associates her directly with him. An Elizabethan historian, Sir John Hayward, published in 1599 a historical work entitled *The First Part of the Life and Raigne of Henrie VIII, extending to*

the end of the first yeare of his raigne. It was dedicated to Essex, and included a description of Richard's deposition. "Essex's enemies at court easily excited the suspicion in the queen's mind that Hayward, under the guise of an historical treatise, was criticising her own policy, and hinting at what might possibly befall her in the future.... The queen even argued that Hayward was pretending to be the author in order to shield 'some more mischievous person,' and that he should be racked so that he might disclose the truth¹." Hayward was imprisoned and not released till 1601.

Again, when Essex made his hopeless attempt to raise an **insurrection** in London in 1601, one of his friends, *Essex's* Sir Gilly Meyrick, and a number of his fellow- *insurrection.* conspirators procured the performance of "the play of deposing King Richard the Second," on the afternoon (Saturday, February 6) before the outbreak. Their object was "to excite the feelings of the populace by representing the abdication of an English sovereign on the stage²."

These points of evidence show that Shakespeare's contemporaries saw a parallel between the deposed King Richard and the Queen whose deposition her enemies at home, and Roman Catholic powers abroad, were striving to compass. The parallel made it dangerous to print the deposition-scene of *Richard II.* in the Quartos of 1597 and 1598. Elizabeth's death in 1603 removed the danger. When the play was next (1608) published the hazardous scene could be restored to its place.

III.

DATE OF COMPOSITION.

The probable date of the composition of *Richard II.* is 1593-94. The publication of the 1st Quarto, 1597, shows the latest possible date of composition. Apart from this and the 2nd Quarto, 1598—apart also

*Probably
written in
1593 or 1594.*

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. *Hayward*.

² The same authority, s.v. *Meyrick*. See also Mr Lytton Strachey's *Elizabeth and Essex* (1928), pp. 192-194.

from the "æsthetic" evidence—we should have known positively that the play was written earlier than 1598, because it is mentioned in Francis Meres's well-known work *Palladis Tamia*¹, published in 1598. Resemblances have been pointed out between *Richard II.* and the 2nd edition (1595) of Daniel's poem,

*External
evidence.*

The History of the Civil Wars. The evidence of similarities is seldom very satisfactory. Daniel, however, is known to have been apt to imitate other writers, and the resemblances to *Richard II.* occur in passages of *The Civil Wars* added in the 2nd edition, so that some weight may be attached to them. Again, the likeness between *Richard II.* and *Edward II.* (written somewhere between 1590 and 1593) shows that the former dates from that early period when Shakespeare was still strongly affected by Marlowe's example. No doubt, the influence of *Edward II.* is accountable for the absence of prose in *Richard II.*

This is the only external, and partly external, evidence that we have as to the date. It points to the period 1593-94.

*Internal
evidence.* The wholly internal evidence of metre and general characteristics—what is called "æsthetic evidence"—supports the conclusion that *Richard II.* is an early

work such as Shakespeare might be supposed to have written about 1593-94. To begin with, just a fifth of the play is in

Rhyme.

rhyme, and rhyme (unless it is clearly used for some special reason, as in the Masque in *The Tempest*) is a positive sign of the early composition of a play of Shakespeare. In the earlier part of *Richard II.* one notices a tendency to begin with blank verse and then slip into rhymed

¹ Or *Wit's Treasury*. It is a sort of contemporary (1598) survey of literature and art. The passage referring to Shakespeare runs:

"As *Plautus* and *Seneca* are accounted the best for Comedy and Tragedy among the Latines, so Shakespeare among y^e English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage: for Comedy, witness his *Gentlemen of Verona*, his *Errors*, his *Love labors lost*, his *Love labours wonne*, his *Midsommers night dreame*, and his *Merchant of Venice*; for Tragedy, his *Richard the 2*, *Richard the 3*, *Henry 4*, *King John*, *Titus Andronicus*, and his *Romeo and Juliet*."

verse, as if at the outset its rhythm were more familiar to the poet; whereas, later in the play, all the finest parts are in blank verse. There are three passages (II. 1. 9—12; III. 2. 76—79, 194—197) of alternate rhyme such as is common in the plays of his first period but was afterwards discarded.

Again, the blank verse is that of Shakespeare's period of apprenticeship to his art. It shows unmistakably *Immature blank verse.* the influence of the rhymed couplet. It is "end-stopt" verse—that is to say, verse in which there is usually some pause, however slight, of the sense and consequently of the rhythm at the end of each line; verse, in fact, which preserves the movement, without the rhyme, of the old rhymed couplet. Most of the lines conform with the regular type (see p. 223) of blank verse, i.e. a verse of ten syllables with the stresses (or accents) on the even syllables (2, 4, 6, 8, 10). The percentage of lines with a "double" or "feminine" ending, i.e. an extra syllable at the end, and of lines with an extra syllable, or syllables, in the middle, is small. Hence, as a whole, the blank verse of the play is characterised by evenness and regularity, and not remarkable for variety of effect¹.

The style tells the same tale of early workmanship. The rhetoric of the speeches in the first Act often passes the dividing line between pure eloquence *Style.* (such as we have in Gaunt's great speech, II. 1. 40—68) and exaggeration. Thus we find not a few examples of a bombastic kind of verse, balanced with two epithets, which is frequent in the early plays, e.g.:

"The unstooping firmness of my upright soul" (I. 1. 121).

"The slavish motive of recanting fear" (193).

Again, a common mark of immaturity of style is the over-use of literary artifices. In *Richard II.* the use of alliteration² and word-plays³ (to express bitterness *Excessive use of alliteration, word-plays, antithesis.* of feeling) is often extremely fine, but on the

¹ Observe too the absence of prose, even e.g. in III. 4.

² See I. 1. 47—51; I. 2. 50, 51; I. 3. 150, 151, 213; II. 1. 46.

³ See II. 1. 74; III. 3. 140, 141, 180; IV. 1. 317.

whole excessive. The antitheses¹ are sometimes forced. There are many of those artificial turns of fancy and comparison and strained expressions to which, as a beginner, Shakespeare was prone. They represent the influence of "euphuism" on his style. A striking instance of these "conceits" "Conceits," (as they are termed) is Bolingbroke's affected description of his meeting with Richard (III. 3. 54—60). Much also of what the Queen says is cast in an affected manner. And not only are there pieces of imagery which seem unnatural in themselves, and therefore alien from the essential truth of Shakespeare's mature work: his way of developing comparisons through numerous details (as for example in Bolingbroke's comparison of York and Aumerle with a "silver fountain" and its stream, v. 3. 61—66) is quite different from the manner of his later plays, when his teeming fancy throws off a quick succession of varied figures.

It is certain, then, that *Richard II.* is an early work, and most scholars believe that 1593 or 1594 was the year of its composition."

IV.

OTHER PLAYS ON RICHARD II.

It is impossible to decide whether the play acted before Meyrick and his friends was Shakespeare's *Richard II.* *Was the con-* That the performance took place at the Globe
spiracy-play *Shakespeare's* Theatre, by the company (the Lord Chamberlain's)
"Richard II.?" of which Shakespeare himself was a member, there can be no doubt, because the actor Augustine Philipps, with whom Meyrick arranged for the performance, belonged to that company. Some very high authorities hold that the play *was* Shakespeare's *Richard II.*: would a theatre, it is argued, have in its stock two pieces on the same subject? But the case against the identification seems to me very strong:

(1) Shakespeare's *Richard II.* was hardly a piece to suit the purpose of the conspirators. They wished to excite a feeling in favour of deposition, but the fourth Act of *Richard II.* tends to

¹ See I. 2. 14, 15; I. 3. 186, 187.

discourage it: sympathy with the deposed king is roused, and the evil consequences of deposition are dwelt on strongly.

(2) The actor Philipps, when he was examined on the subject, said that the piece which they were asked to play was "so old and so long out of use" that he and his fellow-actors were unwilling to perform it, "as they should have a small company [audience] at it," and only consented when Meyrick gave them 40 shillings as extra payment. It is described, too, by other contemporaries as a "stale" piece, an "obsolete" tragedy. These were strange terms to apply to a work of the leading dramatist of the age, written only seven or eight years before. *Richard II.* would be unique among Shakespeare's plays! A different view was taken by the publishers, who brought out no less than four Quarto editions of *Richard II.*, two before (1597, 1598) the conspiracy and two after (1608, 1615).

(3) Though the piece in question is commonly called in the contemporary references to it "the play of deposing King Richard the Second," yet it is entitled variously in two "the play" or "story" of Henry IV. And the longer title describes only one scene of Shakespeare's tragedy.

(4) The chief supporter of Essex in the plot was the Earl of Southampton. He was a patron of literature, as we see from Shakespeare's dedication to him of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*. It seems to me highly probable that the idea of having a performance originated with him. It may be doubted whether he would have pressed for a play, the acting of which involved, obviously, grave risk to his friend, the dramatist.

These considerations, then, seem to me to constitute a very solid body of objection to the view that identifies the conspiracy-play with Shakespeare's tragedy. My own conclusion is that the conspiracy-play was an old chronicle-play, owned by the Globe company, which had been superseded—put "out of use"—by *Richard II.* and might be described fitly in 1601 as "stale" and "obsolete." It may have dealt in more detail with the actual incident of "deposing," and, as the work of some obscure author, perhaps dead, it ran no risk of getting its author into trouble.

Two other plays dealing with Richard's reign must be mentioned. The *Diary* of the Elizabethan astrologer Dr Simon Forman, which contains a well-known account of a performance of *Macbeth*, mentions a play of *Richard II.* which he saw on April 30, 1611, at the Globe Theatre. It cannot have been Shakespeare's *Richard II.* It began with Wat Tyler's rebellion and introduced the death of the Duke of Gloucester, but apparently did not include Richard's deposition and death. In fact, roughly it may be said to have dramatised the earlier portion of his reign. It has been suggested that this play and that acted on the eve of Essex's outbreak were possibly the first and second parts of a chronicle-play covering the whole reign of Richard II. The fact that both plays apparently belonged to the Globe Theatre lends colour to the suggestion.

Finally, there was a play called "The Tragedy of Richard II. concluding with the murder of the Duke of Gloucester." This was printed some years ago (1870) from a MS. volume of plays in the British Museum. No Elizabethan issue of it is known. It is generally agreed that this tragedy was written after Shakespeare's, somewhere about 1620—1630.

A play on the earlier part of Richard's reign.

Another play, later than Shakespeare's.

V.

THE SOURCES OF THE PLAY.

The source whence Shakespeare derived the story of *Richard II.* is Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*. It is supposed that he used the second¹ edition (1586-87), the omen of the withering

¹ Mr Stone shows that this edition (to which "many new passages were added") was probably the one used for several of Shakespeare's other historical plays—certainly for *Henry VIII.*

of the bay-trees (II. 4. 8) not being mentioned in the first edition (1577). There are one or two indications that Shakespeare also consulted other sources of information. Thus there is no mention in Holinshed of Norfolk's going to the Holy Land (IV. 1. 92-95), a detail which ^{Apparent use of other sources.} Shakespeare may have owed to Stowe's *Annals*. Again, Holinshed says that the Bishop of Carlisle on his arrest was lodged in the Abbey of Saint Albans, whereas Shakespeare gives the correct account, viz. that the bishop was committed to the custody of the Abbot of Westminster. Again, Richard's formal transfer of the crown to Bolingbroke (IV. 1. 181-189) is not in Holinshed, and may have been suggested by a passage in Berner's translation of *Froissart*.

Another "source" of *Richard II.*—a "source," that is to say, of inspiration, not information—is Marlowe's *Edward II.* The parallel between Edward II. and Richard II. in character and fortune was bound to ^{Relation of "Richard II." to Marlowe's "Edward II."} lead to some resemblance between the two plays, even if Shakespeare had been unaffected, instead of strongly influenced, by Marlowe's works. The most striking likeness is between the two scenes of abdication. It is evident, apart even from the unmistakable reminiscence in IV. 1. 253, 254, that Marlowe's representation of "the reluctant pangs of abdicating royalty" was present to Shakespeare's mind's eye when he described Richard's surrender of the crown. Edward's character is much simpler than Richard's, and the very simplicity of his agonising grief at the loss of his crown makes, I think, a more poignant impression than Richard's highly-wrought, self-conscious rhetoric. But the insistence on the squalid, physical misery of Edward's imprisonment, and the repulsiveness of the close of *Edward II.*, are altogether alien from the infinitely finer taste of Shakespeare, who almost ever distinguished between terror and horror.

VI.

DEVIATIONS¹ FROM HISTORY.

It has been remarked that Shakespeare's deviations from history in his English and Roman historical plays are mainly changes of time and place, and do not often involve misrepresentation of fact or character. There are *Two characters unhistorical.* two notable deviations from this principle in the characterisation of the *dramatis personæ* of *Richard II.*

The portrait of John of Gaunt is essentially unauthentic. He is held up to admiration as a great patriot so filled with concern for the glory and welfare of his country, that he would welcome his death could it benefit the "dear dear land" whose praise moves him to that magnificent outburst (II. I. 40—68). One would think that, as a warrior, he had borne a great part in the service of the country; and that he had been a wise counsellor (II. I. 1—16), to whose sage advice Richard should have lent all attention. But history tells a different tale. He was an ambitious, self-seeking man, suspected of scheming to supplant his nephew during the early part of the reign, unsuccessful as a military commander, and so unpopular as an administrator that at their rising in 1381 the commons burnt his palace and swore that England should have never a king of his Christian name. No doubt, Shakespeare's object in drawing the picture of "time-honoured Lancaster"—a picture which has obscured in the popular imagination the real Gaunt of history—was to emphasise Richard's lack of a true patriotic sense, and to contrast the glorious past of which Gaunt is made the representative with the miserable present. Also, it predisposes us in favour of his son.

¹ Pointed out by various writers.

Equally fictitious is the character of the Queen, and almost equally effective from the dramatic standpoint. *The Queen.* She was a child of twelve at the time when the action of the play commences, but Shakespeare represents her as a woman. Probably he had two objects in view. The Queen brings a feminine interest into the play and was the natural figure to introduce for this purpose. She serves also to illustrate an aspect of Richard's character into which, but for her, we should have had only a partial insight through the loyal devotion of two or three characters¹: I mean that delicate winning grace which gained for Richard the deep attachment of the more worthy of those on whom he cared to smile; the quality of personal attractiveness which extorted even from his enemy Hotspur the regretful mention of "Richard that sweet lovely rose" (1 *Henry IV.* i. 3. 175), and which reminds us a little of that other luckless king, Charles I. It is an interesting feature of the study of a play to note how characters are introduced not so much for their own personal interest as for the dramatic purpose they serve in showing up, by sympathy or contrast, the more important actors.

The new element in *Richard II.*, i.e. that which has no historical basis, comprises the interview between Richard and the dying Gaunt (II. 1); the scene at Langley in the Duke of York's garden (III. 4); most important, perhaps, of all the divergences from history, the deposition-scene in Westminster Hall (IV. 1); the parting of Richard and his Queen (V. 1); the introduction of the groom (V. 5), and Bolingbroke's mourning over Richard's "untimely bier" (V. 6). *New Scenes.*

Minor changes are these. Part of Bolingbroke's sentence was remitted not at the time of the Trial by Combat at Coventry but some weeks later at Eltham. *Minor changes of time, place and incident.* In I. 4 and II. 1 the supposed time of the events is impossible historically, though the impossibility is not apparent: Bolingbroke has not left England (I. 4. 1—4) when Gaunt's illness is announced (I. 4. 54—56); Richard

¹ In particular, Aumerle and the groom.

hurries to see Gaunt at once (63, 64), yet in the next scene (II. 1. 167, 168) an incident of Bolingbroke's exile in France is referred to; Gaunt dies (147—150), and before the end of the same scene we hear that Bolingbroke is returning. The dramatist in fact has entirely ignored the question of time in these two scenes. The death of the Duchess of Gloucester is antedated and the place changed (II. 2. 88—95). The reference to Glendower (III. 1. 41, 42) is strange. The course of events is not followed closely in III. 3. Richard really took refuge at Conway Castle, not Flint (III. 2. 209). Northumberland, however, "decoyed Richard from Conway Castle to a part of the road between Conway and Flint, where an ambush was laid. On reaching the spot the king was obliged to proceed to Flint, which was in the possession of Northumberland's troops¹." Aumerle deserted Richard at Flint Castle, instead of remaining loyal, as Shakespeare represents.

The Parliaments of September 30 and October 16, 1399, are combined (IV. 1), and Bagot's charge (IV. 1. 1—106) against Aumerle antedated; so is the departure of the Queen for France (V. 1. 53, 54). Prince Henry (V. 3. 1—12) was but a boy then. The dramatisation of history would be impossible without slight changes of this sort. Time must be compressed and events brought into close relation; otherwise there can be no unity of effect; the dramatic force is frittered away.

These deviations from history may be classed thus: re-creation of two characters, new scenes, changes of time, place and secondary incident. How little they all mean, even from the historian's point of view! They do not affect that which, as history, is essential. Richard's character and Bolingbroke's, the causes of the tragedy of the former's downfall, the secrets of the latter's success—these, the vital points, are laid bare through the imaginative power which penetrates to the heart of men and things.

¹ Stone.

VII.

ANALYSIS OF THE ACTION.

A historical play, like any other play which claims serious attention as a work of art, must be wrought round some central idea. Art is selective, and from the tangle of incidents which history presents the playwright must select those which fulfil the three conditions of being interesting in themselves, illustrative of his central idea, and capable of dramatic treatment. The central idea in *Richard II.* is the contrast between the two types of men represented severally by Richard and Bolingbroke. This contrast is brought out in the conflict between them which ends in the one usurping the regal place of the other. Practically the whole action of the play has reference to this conflict: hence the remarkable effect of dramatic unity of interest in *Richard II.*, an effect heightened by the prevailing poetic style, which never deviates into the colloquial or humorous.

Central idea of the play is the contrast between Richard and Bolingbroke.

The contest begins in I. 1, where Bolingbroke resists the wishes of Richard. It is carried a step further in I. 3, when Richard, in seeking to be rid of this defiant lord, makes of him an implacable foe. In I. 4 (one of those scenes which, as it were, mark time and prepare us for a fresh move) we get a clearer insight into the king's reason for banishing Bolingbroke and a hint at the latter's rivalry. In II. 1, Richard commits, or rather announces his intention of committing, the fatal act of injustice which forces Bolingbroke into open rebellion and wins him the support by which his rebellion is destined to succeed. We get too in this scene a further revelation of Richard's character and of the misgovernment which makes rebellion easier. The remaining scenes of the Act mark the stages of the rapidly unfolding conflict. Bolingbroke's fortunes are shown in the ascending, Richard's in the descending, scale.

Stages of the conflict between them.

In III. 1, Bolingbroke is already found exercising one of the chief functions of regal power, and exercising it on Richard's own

favourites. The second scene is a record of the king's misfortunes and his incapacity to grapple with them and with his foe. The next scene brings the rivals face to face again, this time under very different circumstances, and the climax of the conflict is reached in the king's full and voluntary surrender—"Your own is yours, and I am yours, and all." The last scene of Act III. resembles the fourth of Act I. in being a comment on the struggle, and a warning of its next phase :

"*First Servant.* What, think you then the king shall be deposed?
Gardener. Depress'd he is already, and deposed
 'Tis doubt he will be." (III. 4. 67-69.)

In Act IV. the warning is fulfilled, and Richard's surrender at Flint, in fact his overthrow in the whole contest, finds formal expression in his public deposition. The tension is now slackened. The last Act shows us victor and vanquished in their changed positions, and the inevitable end, Richard's release from his misery and shame. Through every scene almost runs the idea of this conflict between Richard and Bolingbroke, and its phases contrast their diametrically opposite characters. Out of such a story there springs naturally the question on which so much stress is laid in the play—the question, that is, of a monarch's rights and responsibilities, and of the limits of misrule.

VIII.

HISTORIC PERIOD AND TIME OF ACTION.

The date of the first scene of the play is April 29th, 1398; of the last scene, March (early), 1400. "On March 12, 1400, a body, officially declared to be Richard II.'s, was exhibited at St Paul's" (Stone).

The events of the play are supposed to happen on six days, separated by undefined intervals; the arrangement¹ being as follows:

¹ Mr P. A. Daniel's Time-Analysis. We have seen that it is impossible sometimes to reconcile the dramatic time with the historical.

- Day 1. Act. I. sc. 1.
Interval. About $4\frac{1}{2}$ months?—historic time.
- „ 2. Act I. sc. 2.
Interval. Gaunt's journey to Coventry
- „ 3. Act I. sc. 3.
Interval. Journey from Coventry to London.
- „ 4. Act I. sc. 4, Act II. sc. 1.
Interval. A day or two.
- „ 5. Act II. sc. 2.
Interval.
- „ 6. Act II. sc. 3.
Interval.
- „ 7. Act II. sc. 4, Act III. sc. I.
- „ 8. Act III. sc. 2.¹
Interval.
- „ 9. Act III. sc. 3.
Interval.
- „ 10. Act III. sc. 4.
Interval.
- „ 11. Act IV. sc. 1., Act v. sc. I.
Interval.
- „ 12. Act V. sc. 2, 3, and 4.
Interval.
- „ 13. Act V. sc. 5.
Interval.
- „ 14. Act V. sc. 6.

¹ "If Salisbury's 'yesterday' (69) is to be accepted literally, the time of this scene should be the morrow of Act II. sc. 4. For this reason I put Act III. sc. 1 with that scene as Day 7, and, setting aside geographical considerations, with which indeed the author does not appear to have concerned himself, we may then with dramatic propriety suppose the journey of Salisbury from North Wales and of Scroop from Bristol to have been simultaneous, bringing them to Richard's presence within a short time of each other."—*Daniel*.

IX.

THE CHARACTERS OF THE PLAY.

Shakespeare's Richard II. has been defined as a sentimental-
Richard. list. The word fitly describes the more striking features of his character. For he is essentially a man in whom the influence of emotion predominates at the expense of reason and cool judgment, and who is lightly moved by the varying, fugitive gusts of feeling. He has a full measure of that imaginative gift which is naturally allied to great sensibility. We see it in the rich and copious imagery of his speeches. They are full of figures and similes, sometimes strained but always striking. We see his imaginativeness in the vivid, intensely realised, pictures which his fancy paints. His description (III. 2. 42) of the sun firing the tops of the eastern pines is a landscape in a few words; the vision of the Queen telling "the lamentable tale" of her husband rises before us as he speaks (v. 1. 40—50). Again, he has the eloquence which commonly goes with imagination and sentiment: what he pictures to his mind's eye, what appeals to his emotion, finds vent in swift speech. And with this faculty of self-expression is coupled a fine sense of artistic fitness; so that with imagination and sensibility, eloquence and taste, Richard is "an exquisite poet," if an execrable king.

The latter, alas! he proves himself. He has in an extreme degree the defect of his qualities. He lacks entirely those stable, solid endowments which make for real dignity of life and success. Having many gifts, he is without the one essential thing which we call "character." Richard is one of the brilliant men who fail, and whose failure comes from want of character. He has no firmness of will, no fixity of purpose, no power of facing resolutely that which is disagreeable. He lacks self-reliance and is thus easily led by his favourites. Indulgence in emotion has sapped his strength of judgment. He sees things rather as he would like them to be than as they are, and is apt to give

himself up to picturesque dreams and vague introspection. He cannot or will not calculate the effect of his actions. The habit of self-gratification has become an instinct which makes him turn petulantly from anything that crosses his wish. In him, as in Hamlet, the gift of eloquence has become a bane, paralysing the faculty of action. Each expends in words the mental and moral force that should be translated into strong, sustained action. Richard acts by fits and starts at first, and afterwards, when fortune sets against him, not at all; then it is nothing but words, words, and misfortune only stimulates him to greater eloquence, while he drifts further and further from *doing*.

The weaker aspects of Richard's character are revealed early. A key-note is struck when we find him bidding the two dukes fling down their gages, but not enforcing his command. It must be a weak, nerveless king who is content with a grandiloquent, unheeded assertion of his sovereignty. We see his inconstancy at the Trial by Combat. Having consented to the contest, he suddenly stops it on some passing impulse. No sooner has he pronounced Bolingbroke's sentence than he changes it, from the fear that he has gone too far. There is no reckoning on a man swayed thus by impulses. His petulant impatience of opposition is shown in his insolent anger at Gaunt's rebukes, which are justified so speedily by Richard's unfairness. Vexation only serves as a further incitement to his equally wicked and foolish purpose; and spite of York's warning he refuses to see the inevitable result of his action. Selfishness has made him reckless and unscrupulous where his pleasure is concerned, and the truth

"But by bad courses may be understood
That their events can never fall out good"

(II. I. 213, 214)

has lost its force for him. To break his promise (II. I. 201-204) and seize Bolingbroke's inheritance is the easiest way to extricate himself from his present difficulty: the future must take care of itself. "Be merry, for our time of stay is short," is his way of dismissing the matter. It is a trifler's way, a gambler's.

"The sick hour that his surfeit made" soon comes to test him, and the test lays bare his essential weakness of character, his effeminacy. We see him pass through a succession of moods. Now his spirit is borne aloft on a wave of hope, now plunged in despair. Now he proclaims the inviolable majesty of kings; now he bemoans his misfortune, without a spark of kingly spirit: always eloquent, always in extremes of emotion, practical never. The crisis has proved him, and he has succumbed without a blow. And the more the consequences of his downfall are brought home to him, the more he makes a luxury of his very grief, and, as it were, feasts his fancy on the pathetic situations into which his misfortune brings him. Only at the very last is there a flash of fiery energy, and at least he dies "full of valour" (v. 5. 113)—worthily of his sire, the Black Prince.

The pity of it is that Richard had so many qualities and gifts, though not the essential. He had a subtle mind, which enables him always to hold his own intellectually; a regal grandeur of bearing and manner, which his foes could not deny; a personal attractiveness, that blinded his intimates to his faults; and those endowments of sensibility, fancy, and fluent, exquisite speech. If only the less dazzling but essential qualities had been his—rectitude in dealing, strength of will, self-control, tenacity of purpose, solid capacity of action. These Richard lacked and his rival possessed; and so, spite of Richard's superficial brilliance, there could be but one end to the struggle between them.

What is Shakespeare's attitude towards Richard's deposition? He neither approves nor disapproves. He simply shows that it was inevitable, and utters the warning that certain consequences of it are inevitable. Richard, we are made to feel, is his own deposer. He has unkinged himself by neglect of his kingly duties. For him kingship has meant pomp and ceremony; external attributes of awe and reverence from his subjects; arbitrary use of power for self-gratification. A heaven-sent prerogative in his eyes, he imagines that it was sent for these trumpery ends. The real sanctity of kingship—that is, the due exercise of vast power for good, the discharge of awful

responsibilities—this is unknown to him. And so he fails utterly in his duty as king ; and the teaching of the play is that he who fails thus forfeits his heaven-sent rights and must expect to fall. But *Richard II.* also teaches that such a fall will have terrible, far-reaching effects. The overthrow of a throne is an upheaval of the foundations of society. You cannot limit or calculate the consequences of a great earthquake : you can only be sure that they will be disastrous. And so the play is a double warning, to those who neglect duty, and to those who lightly recommend a sweeping change. Whether there are any conditions which justify deposition, that Shakespeare leaves to us to decide.

Bolingbroke, the strong man of action, is the very opposite of Richard. To describe the deficiencies of the one is to indicate the strong points of the other. *Bolingbroke.*

Bolingbroke's capacity, from first to last, is never at fault ; he makes no false step. He shakes Richard's position by putting himself forward as the avenger of Gloucester. He adroitly turns his banishment to account in winning the hearts of the people. He seizes the time of Richard's absence in Ireland to return, and makes the most of the reason which Richard's folly and injustice enable him to plead. He gains to his side the great peers whose aid is needed, by concealing his ulterior aim. He loses no time in marching south. His first use of power is against the hated favourites. In his hearing of Aumerle's appeal he shows himself firm and just, even generous towards his enemy Norfolk. There are other touches of generosity, perhaps a politic generosity, in his conduct. Thus he renders outward respect to the King (III. 3. 189), and would spare him needless humiliation (IV. 1. 271). He takes thought for the Queen (III. 1. 35-38 ; V. 1. 53, 54). He spares Aumerle and Carlisle. In fact he is altogether prudent and moderate in the time of success, and takes the course which will conciliate as far as possible those who are still attached to Richard. We cannot help feeling that Bolingbroke is a great man, full worthy of the throne. Yet his is a chilling greatness. He is not a sympathetic character. His qualities are such as compel admiration rather than win

affection. One remembers the coldness of his parting with Gaunt and his estrangement from his son (v. 3). And even if his personality were more cordial and attractive, still it could not make us forget that he is a usurper, and mankind does not cherish very friendly feelings towards usurpers like Bolingbroke any more than towards turncoats like York. Somehow, the mysterious right of heredity *will* cling to the deposed king, however merited his deposition. And then what a fearful necessity his very position lays on the usurper—first to hint (v. 4. 2) the removal of his “living fear,” and then to disown the deed and affect regret (v. 6. 34).

York¹, it seems to me, is the kindly, well-meaning but weak man who is overborne by circumstances and forced into a position where he presents rather a sorry figure. He is a strong believer in the abstract idea of kingship, and attached to Richard, but grieved at his follies, which he rebukes. He has thrust upon him an office which probably he could not decline if he would, and which compels him to a difficult choice. On the one hand, as subject and regent he owes a double duty to Richard; on the other, he knows that Richard is a bad ruler, and he cannot help sympathising with his other kinsman Bolingbroke, “whom the king hath wronged” (II. 2. 112). Evidently he decides in favour of the king (II. 2. 114–120), and makes what shift he can to raise forces with which to oppose the intruder. But his efforts are hopeless (II. 3. 143–145). The whole land joins Bolingbroke’s side (III. 2. 106–120); and York, “all ill left” (II. 3. 154), can only make a personal appeal to Bolingbroke’s sense of loyalty, and then submit. But his manner of submitting is weak and forfeits sympathy. As regent he has no right to wash his hands of responsibility. His pretence of neutrality is mere lothness to face the situation. He should either join Bolingbroke openly, or, while submitting, refuse absolutely to have any complicity in his action. Instead of taking one course or the other, he attempts to steer a middle,

¹ The old chronicles represent him rather as a man of pleasure than as a politician.

temporises, makes half-promises, and eventually sides with Bolingbroke. His conduct at this turning point shows him weak and vacillating—enfeebled by age. One feels that he is cowed by Bolingbroke's strong personality, as well as beaten in argument. After he has gone over, York is loyal enough, too loyal indeed in pressing for the punishment of his son; nor is this loyalty to the new king inconsistent with compassion of Richard. It is in quiet times when the milder virtues suffice and there is no call to be strenuous or heroic that men like York are seen to advantage. Times of stress show them up. That York, though vacillating, was not an unprincipled time-server is to be inferred from the way he is spoken of by those who knew him well. Richard leaves the kingdom in his charge because "he is just" (II. I. 221). The Duchess of Gloucester thought well of him (I. 2. 62-69). The Gardener calls him "the good Duke of York" (III. 4. 70). Even to Northumberland he is "good old York" (II. 3. 52). Had he lived in Henry V.'s time we should probably have considered him an amiable, genial, upright man.

The other characters are drawn, though slightly, yet with vividness and consistency. The Queen is extremely
The Queen.
imaginative and emotional, a fit consort for Richard.

It must be noted, though, that in the three scenes in which she is prominent (II. 2, III. 4, V. 1) the circumstances are such as would naturally bring out these aspects of her character. In fact, we do not see her under normal conditions. She is devoted to her husband, and gracious to those about her, except on the one occasion (III. 4) where she is "too far gone with grief" for self-restraint. She is more spirited than Richard, and spite of her love cannot help chiding him for his tame submission (V. I. 26-34). Her forebodings (II. 2, III. 4) are like the shadow of coming disaster, and her helpless presence adds much to the pathos of the play.

Aumerle is not a wholly attractive figure. He is too much
his father's son and Richard's friend to be a strong,
Aumerle.
stable character. He boasts rather cynically of having feigned sympathy with Bolingbroke (I. 4. 1-19). He approves seemingly Richard's evil ways of raising money and his

foolish, wicked intention of seizing Bolingbroke's inheritance (I. 4. 42-65). He takes, it would appear from V. 2. 44, 45, the oath of allegiance to Bolingbroke, yet joins the plot against him, and then pleads to him for a pardon which Bolingbroke grants without suspecting the enormity of his crime. On the other hand, he is loyal to Richard long after fortune has declared against the king, and if he stoops, at his mother's entreaty, to save himself, it is only when the discovery of the plot has destroyed Richard's last chance. He does his utmost to rouse the king to action (III. 2), and will not despair. He stands by Richard in the scene (III. 3) of his humiliation at Flint and is deeply moved at it (III. 3. 160). His courage (IV. 1. 49-85), if not his word, is beyond dispute, and he is coolly ready to bear the consequences of his share in the plot (V. 2. 82, 83). He is "tender-hearted" with his mother (V. 2), as with his master. There are, in short, great possibilities of good in him, as the discerning Bolingbroke sees, but they have not been developed to the full at Richard's unhappy court. But the future had better influences in store for him, and the student who knows *Henry V.* can never think harshly of the Aumerle who repaid Bolingbroke's clemency by that glorious death in the service of Bolingbroke's son.

Northumberland is throughout offensive: fulsome in his *Northum-* fawning on Bolingbroke (II. 3), but brutal to his *berland.* vanquished foes. He is needlessly discourteous in his mention of his king (III. 3. 6) and in his bearing towards him (III. 3. 72-76); tauntingly insolent towards the heroic bishop and quick to suggest his punishment (IV. 1. 150-154); merciless in inflicting the ~~last~~ humiliations on Richard (IV. 1. 222-272); and icily indifferent where the hardest might be moved (V. 1). But the infallible whirligig of time brought in his revenges, and Northumberland got his deserts.

Carlisle. Best of all the characters is the Bishop of Carlisle—wise, brave, loyal. In his eyes Richard as king is

"the figure of God's majesty,
His captain, steward, deputy elect" (IV. 1. 125, 126).

Carlisle's loyalty therefore is not only to Richard himself but to the principle of monarchy which he embodies. Yet while believing no less strongly than Richard in the divine origin and support of monarchy, Carlisle knows that it must make due use of "the means that heaven yields" (III. 2. 29); and with all his reverence for the king he does not scruple to tell him that heaven helps those who help themselves, and that "wise men ne'er sit and wail their woes" (III. 2. 178). This scene (III. 2) brings out very clearly the contrast between Richard's belief in the abstract inviolability of kingship and Carlisle's truer, more practical, view of its sanctity. In the great scene (IV. 1) in Westminster Hall the bishop alone raises his voice on behalf of Richard and the principle of monarchy, and utters, as befits his calling, a most solemn warning of the evils which the violation of this principle must bring. And he does this at the cost of all. His indeed is the loyalty which scorns compromise and endures unto the end. We may surely apply to him Milton's famous lines¹:

"Among the faithless, faithful only he;
Among innumerable false, unmoved,
Unshaken, unseduced, untterrified,
His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal."

X.

"RICHARD II." ON THE STAGE.

As an acting-play *Richard II.* does not rank among Shakespeare's most successful. In fact, its stage-history seems to be somewhat scanty. The chief reason of this I take to be the fact that there is no prominent² character for whom we really care, whose presence on the scene is a pleasure. The want is a grievous defect to a play, especially when it is acted. How

¹ *Paradise Lost*, v. 897—900.

² Gaunt and the bishop are admirable, but can hardly be described as "prominent" characters.

different the case is with *Henry V.*! Henry is alone sufficient to make the play. Further, the action of *Richard II.* is thought to have too much of a political tenour. The quarrel between the two dukes at the outset, Richard's misgovernment, the cause and real motive of Bolingbroke's return, the circumstances which lead up to the deposition, the deposition itself before the assembled Parliament, the question of its justifiability, and of its consequences to the State, the plot against Bolingbroke, his motive for getting rid of Richard—through all these parts and phases of the action runs a political interest. The whole atmosphere is political. The servants "talk of state." There is no humorous relief, and only a slight feminine interest.

Again, the sight of the weak crushed by the strong is painful; and with all his faults it is as a weak, foolish man, not as a criminal, though he may have been guilty of one great crime (II. I. 124-131), that one regards the king. Yet what suffering befalls him. A fiend like Iago in *Othello* or Edmund in *Lear* fares no worse. True, weakness and folly lead to as dire material consequences as wickedness itself, but that is not a truth which mankind contemplates with pleasure. In *Richard II.* it is pitifully apparent, and representation on the stage must enforce it with painful emphasis. It is enough to picture, without actually seeing, the poor king baited (IV. I. 238) like an animal by that cruel Northumberland.

No, the charm of *Richard II.* lies surely in the pathos of Richard's character and fortunes—a pathos which makes him a fascinating figure to the student of history, and which in the reading of the play does not become too insistent—and in its poetry. It is an intensely poetical piece, harmonising with the poetical character of the king. Like *Macbeth*, it is essentially a play of great speeches. Ever and anon the poet's genius soars to the very height of lyrical or declamatory or pathetic eloquence, and we feel that only one voice—Shakespeare's—ever could have breathed forth these "raptures, all air and fire."

KING RICHARD II.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

KING RICHARD the Second.

JOHN OF GAUNT, Duke of Lancaster, }
EDMUND OF LANGLEY, Duke of York, } uncles to the King.

HENRY, surnamed Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford, son to John
of Gaunt; afterwards King Henry IV.

DUKE OF AUMERLE, son to the Duke of York.

THOMAS MOWBRAY, Duke of Norfolk.

DUKE OF SURREY.

EARL OF SALISBURY.

LORD BERKELEY.

BUSHY, }
BAGOT, } servants to King Richard.
GREEN, }

EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

HENRY PERCY, surnamed Hotspur, his son.

LORD ROSS.

LORD WILLOUGHBY.

LORD FITZWATER.

Bishop of Carlisle.

Abbot of Westminster.

Lord Marshal.

SIR STEPHEN SCROOP.

SIR PIERCE of Exton.

Captain of a band of Welshmen.

Queen to King Richard.

DUCHESS OF YORK.

DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER.

Ladies attending on the Queen.

Lords, Heralds, Officers, Soldiers, two Gardeners, Keeper, Messenger,
Groom, and other Attendants.

SCENE—*England and Wales.*

KING RICHARD II. (1377-99)

ACT I.

SCENE I. *Windsor Castle.*

Enter King RICHARD, JOHN OF GAUNT, *with other Nobles and Attendants.*

K. Rich. Old John of Gaunt, time-honour'd Lancaster,
Hast thou, according to thy oath and band,
Brought hither Henry Hereford thy bold son,
Here to make good the boisterous late appeal,
Which then our leisure would not let us hear, 5
Against the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray?

Gaunt. I have, my liege.

K. Richard. Tell me, moreover, hast thou sounded him,
If he appeal the duke on ancient malice;
Or worthily, as a good subject should, 10
On some known ground of treachery in him?

Gaunt. As near as I could sift him on that argument,
On some apparent danger seen in him
Aim'd at your highness,—no inveterate malice.

K. Rich. Then call them to our presence: face to face,
And frowning brow to brow, ourselves will hear 16
The accuser and the accused freely speak:

High-stomach'd are they both, and full of ire,
In rage deaf as the sea, hasty as fire.

Enter BOLINGBROKE and MOWBRAY.

Bolingbroke. Many years of happy days befall 20
My gracious sovereign, my most loving liege!

Mowbray. Each day still better other's happiness;
Until the heavens, envying earth's good hap,
Add an immortal title to your crown!

K. Richard. We thank you both: yet one but flatters us,
As well appeareth by the cause you come; 26
Namely, to appeal each other of high treason.
Cousin of Hereford, what dost thou object
Against the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray?

Bolingbroke. First, heaven be the record to my speech! 30
In the devotion of a subject's love,
Tendering the precious safety of my prince,
And free from other misbegotten hate,
Come I appellant to this princely presence.
Now, Thomas Mowbray, do I turn to thee, 35
And mark my greeting well; for what I speak
My body shall make good upon this earth,
Or my divine soul answer it in heaven.

Thou art a traitor and a miscreant,
Too good to be so, and too bad to live, 40
Since the more fair and crystal is the sky,
The uglier seem the clouds that in it fly.
Once more, the more to aggravate the note,
With a foul traitor's name stuff I thy throat;
And wish,—so please my sovereign,—ere I move, 45
What my tongue speaks, my right-drawn sword may prove.

Mowbray. Let not my cold words here accuse my zeal:
'Tis not the trial of a woman's war,

The bitter clamour of two eager tongues,
Can arbitrate this cause betwixt us twain ; 50
The blood is hot that must be cool'd for this :
Yet can I not of such tame patience boast
As to be hush'd and nought at all to say :
First, the fair reverence of your highness curbs me
From giving reins and spurs to my free speech ; 55
Which else would post until it had return'd
These terms of treason doubled down his throat.
Setting aside his high blood's royalty,
And let him be no kinsman to my liege,
I do defy him, and I spit at him ; 60
Call him a slanderous coward and a villain ;
Which to maintain, I would allow him odds ;
And meet him, were I tied to run afoot
Even to the frozen ridges of the Alps,
Or any other ground inhabitable, 65
Where ever Englishman durst set his foot.
Meantime let this defend my loyalty,—
By all my hopes, most falsely doth he lie.

Boling. Pale trembling coward, there I throw my gage,
Disclaiming here the kindred of the king, 70
And lay aside my high blood's royalty,
Which fear, not reverence, makes thee to except.
If guilty dread have left thee so much strength
As to take up mine honour's pawn, then stoop :
By that and all the rites of knighthood else, 75
Will I make good against thee, arm to arm,
What I have spoke, or thou canst worse devise.

Mowbray. I take it up ; and by that sword I swear,
Which gently laid my knighthood on my shoulder,
I'll answer thee in any fair degree, 80
Or chivalrous design of knightly trial :

And when I mount, alive may I not light,
If I be traitor or unjustly fight!

K. Rich. What doth our cousin lay to Mowbray's charge?
It must be great that can inherit us 85
So much as of a thought of ill in him.

Boling. Look, what I speak, my life shall prove it true;
That Mowbray hath received eight thousand nobles
In name of lendings for your highness' soldiers,
The which he hath detain'd for lewd employments, 90
Like a false traitor ~~and~~ injurious villain.
Besides, I say, and ~~will~~ in battle prove, *
Or here or elsewhere to ~~the~~ furthest verge
That ever was survey'd by English eye,
That all the treasons for ~~these~~ eighteen years 95
Complotted and contrived in this land
Fetch from false Mowbray their first head and spring.
Further I say, and further will maintain
Upon his bad life to make all this good,
That he did plot the Duke of Gloucester's death, 100
Suggest his soon-believing adversaries,
And consequently, like a traitor coward,
Sluiced out his innocent soul through streams of blood:
Which blood, like sacrificing Abel's, cries,
Even from the tongueless caverns of the earth, 105
To me for justice and rough chastisement;
And, by the glorious worth of my descent,
This arm shall do it, or this life be spent.

K. Richard. How high a pitch his resolution soars!
Thomas of Norfolk, what say'st thou to this? 110

Mowbray. O, let my sovereign turn away his face,
And bid his ears a little while be deaf,
Till I have told this slander of his blood,
How God and good men hate so foul a liar!

K. Richard. Mowbray, impartial are our eyes and ears :
Were he my brother, nay, my kingdom's heir, 116
As he is but my father's brother's son,
Now, by my sceptre's awe, I make a vow,
Such neighbour nearness to our sacred blood
Should nothing privilege him, nor partialize 120
The unstooping firmness of my upright soul:
He is our subject, Mowbray, so art thou ;
Free speech and fearless I to thee allow.

Mowbray. Then, Bolingbroke, as low as to thy heart,
Through the false passage of thy throat, thou liest ! 125
Three parts of that receipt I had for Calais
Disbursed I duly to his highness' soldiers ;
The other part reserved I by consent,
For that my sovereign liege was in my debt
Upon remainder of a dear account, 130
Since last I went to France to fetch his queen :
Now swallow down that lie. For Gloucester's death,
I slew him not ; but to my own disgrace
Neglected my sworn duty in that case.
For you, my noble Lord of Lancaster, 135
The honourable father to my foe,
Once did I lay an ambush for your life,
A trespass that doth vex my grieved soul :
But ere I last received the sacrament
I did confess it, and exactly begg'd 140
Your grace's pardon, and I hope I had it.
This is my fault : as for the rest appealed,
It issues from the rancour of a villain,
A recreant and most degenerate traitor :
Which in myself I boldly will defend ; 145
And interchangeably hurl down my gage
Upon this overweening traitor's foot,

To prove myself a loyal gentleman
Even in the best blood chamber'd in his bosom.
In haste whereof, most heartily I pray 150
Your highness to assign our trial-day.

K. Richard. Wrath-kindled gentlemen, be ruled by me ;
Let's purge this choler without letting blood :
This we prescribe, though no physician ;
Deep malice makes too deep incision : 155
Forget, forgive ; conclude and be agreed ;
Our doctors say this is no month to bleed.
Good uncle, let this end where it begun ;
We'll calm the Duke of Norfolk, you your son.

Gaunt. To be a make-peace shall become my age : 160
Throw down, my son, the Duke of Norfolk's gage.

K. Richard. And, Norfolk, throw down his.

Gaunt. When, Harry? when?
Obedience bids I should not bid again.

K. Rich. Norfolk, throw down ; we bid ; there is no boot.

Mowbray. Myself I throw, dread sovereign, at thy foot.
My life thou shalt command, but not my shame : 166
The one my duty owes ; but my fair name,
Despite of death that lives upon my grave,
To dark dishonour's use thou shalt not have.
I am disgraced, impeach'd and baffled here ; 170
Pierced to the soul with slander's venom'd spear,
The which no balm can cure but his heart-blood
Which breathed this poison.

K. Richard. Rage must be withstood :
Give me his gage : lions make leopards tame.

Mow. Yea, but not change his spots : take but my
shame, 175
And I resign my gage. My dear dear lord,
The purest treasure mortal times afford

Is spotless reputation ; that away,
Men are but gilded loam or painted clay.
A jewel in a ten-times-barr'd-up chest 180
Is a bold spirit in a loyal breast.
Mine honour is my life ; both grow in one ;
Take honour from me, and my life is done :
Then, dear my liege, mine honour let me try ;
In that I live, and for that will I die. 185

K. Rich. Cousin, throw down your gage ; do you begin.

Bolingbroke. O, God defend my soul from such foul sin !
Shall I seem crest-fall'n in my father's sight?
Or with pale beggar-fear impeach my height
Before this outdared dastard? Ere my tongue 190
Shall wound my honour with such feeble wrong,
Or sound so base a parle, my teeth shall tear
The slavish motive of recanting fear,
And spit it bleeding in his high disgrace,
Where shame doth harbour, even in Mowbray's face. 195
[*Exit Gaunt.*

K. Richard. We were not born to sue, but to command ;
Which since we cannot do to make you friends,
Be ready, as your lives shall answer it,
At Coventry, upon Saint Lambert's day :
There shall your swords and lances arbitrate 200
The swelling difference of your settled hate :
Since we can not atone you, we shall see
Justice design the victor's chivalry.
Lord marshal, command our officers-at-arms
Be ready to direct these home alarms. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II. *The Duke of LANCASTER'S palace.*

Enter JOHN OF GAUNT and the Duchess of GLOUCESTER.

Gaunt. Alas, the part I had in Woodstock's blood
Doth more solicit me than your exclams,
To stir against the butchers of his life!
But since correction lieth in those hands
Which made the fault that we cannot correct, 5
Put we our quarrel to the will of heaven;
Who, when they see the hours ripe on earth,
Will rain hot vengeance on offenders' heads.

Duchess. Finds brotherhood in thee no sharper spur?
Hath love in thy old blood no living fire? 10
Edward's seven sons, whereof thyself art one,
Were as seven vials of his sacred blood,
Or seven fair branches springing from ~~one~~ root:
Some of those seven are dried by nature's course,
Some of those branches by the Destinies cut; 15
But Thomas, my dear lord, my life, my Gloucester,
One vial full of Edward's sacred blood,
One flourishing branch of his most royal root,
Is crack'd, and all the precious liquor spilt,
Is hack'd down, and his summer leaves all faded, 20
By envy's hand and murder's bloody axe.
Ah, Gaunt, his blood was thine! that bed, that womb,
That mettle, that self-mould, that fashion'd thee,
Made him a man; and though thou livest and breathest,
Yet art thou slain in him: thou dost consent 25
In some large measure to thy father's death,
In that thou seest thy wretched brother die,

Who was the model of thy father's life.
Call it not patience, Gaunt; it is despair:
In suffering thus thy brother to be slaughter'd, 30
Thou show'st the naked pathway to thy life,
Teaching stern murder how to butcher thee:
That which in mean men we entitle patience,
Is pale cold cowardice in noble breasts.
What shall I say? to safeguard thine own life, 35
The best way is to venge my Gloucester's death.

Gaunt. God's is the quarrel; for God's substitute,
His deputy anointed in His sight,
Hath caused his death: the which if wrongfully,
Let heaven revenge; for I may never lift 40
An angry arm against His minister.

Duchess. Where, then, alas, may I complain myself?

Gaunt. To God, the widow's champion and defence.

Duchess. Why, then, I will. Farewell, old Gaunt.
Thou goest to Coventry, there to behold 45
Our cousin Hereford and fell Mowbray fight:
O, sit my husband's wrongs on Hereford's spear,
That it may enter butcher Mowbray's breast!
Or, if misfortune miss the first career,
Be Mowbray's sins so heavy in his bosom, 50
That they may break his foaming courser's back,
And throw the rider headlong in the lists,
A caitiff recreant to my cousin Hereford!
Farewell, old Gaunt: thy sometimes brother's wife
With her companion grief must end her life. 55

Gaunt. Sister, farewell; I must to Coventry:
As much good stay with thee as go with me!

Duch. Yet one word more: grief boundeth where it falls,
Not with the empty hollowness, but weight:
I take my leave before I have begun; 60

For sorrow ends not when it seemeth done.
Commend me to my brother, Edmund York.
Lo, this is all:—nay, yet depart not so;
Though this be all, do not so quickly go;
I shall remember more. Bid him—ah, what?— 65
With all good speed at Plashy visit me.
Alack, and what shall good old York there see
But empty lodgings and unfurnish'd walls,
Unpeopled offices, untrodden stones?
And what hear there for welcome but my groans? 70
Therefore commend me; let him not come there,
To seek out sorrow that dwells every where.
Desolate, desolate, will I hence and die:
The last leave of thee takes my weeping eye. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE III. *The Lists at Coventry.*

Enter the Lord Marshal and the Duke of AUMERLE.

Marshal. My Lord Aumerle, is Harry Hereford arm'd?

Aumerle. Yea, at all points; and longs to enter in.

Marshal. The Duke of Norfolk, sprightly and bold,
Stays but the summons of the appellant's trumpet.

Aum. Why, then, the champions are prepared, and stay
For nothing but his majesty's approach.

Flourish of trumpets. *Enter King RICHARD, who takes his seat on his throne; GAUNT, BUSHY, BAGOT, GREEN, and others, who take their places. A trumpet is sounded, and answered by another trumpet within. Then enter MOWBRAY in armour, preceded by a Herald.*

K. Richard. Marshal, demand of yonder champion
The cause of his arrival here in arms:

Ask him his name, and orderly proceed
To swear him in the justice of his cause. 10

Mar. In God's name and the king's, say who thou art,
And why thou comest thus knightly clad in arms;
Against what man thou comest, and what thy quarrel:
Speak truly, on thy knighthood and thy oath;
As so defend thee heaven and thy valour! 15

Mow. My name is Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk;
Who hither come engaged by my oath,—
Which God defend a knight should violate!—
Both to defend my loyalty and truth
To God, my king, and my succeeding issue, 20
Against the Duke of Hereford that appeals me;
And, by the grace of God and this mine arm,
To prove him, in defending of myself,
A traitor to my God, my king, and me:
And as I truly fight, defend me heaven! 25

*Trumpet sounds. Enter BOLINGBROKE in armour,
preceded by a Herald.*

K. Richard. Marshal, ask yonder knight in arms,
Both who he is, and why he cometh hither
Thus plated in habiliments of war;
And formally, according to our law,
Depose him in the justice of his cause. 30

Marshal. What is thy name? and wherefore comest
thou hither,

Before King Richard in his royal lists?
Against whom comest thou? and what's thy quarrel?
Speak like a true knight, so defend thee heaven!

Bolingbroke. Harry of Hereford, Lancaster, and Derby,
Am I; who ready here do stand in arms, 36
To prove, by God's grace and my body's valour,

In lists, on 'Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk,
That he is a traitor, foul and dangerous,
To God of heaven, King Richard, and to me: 40
And as I truly fight, defend me heaven!

Marshal. On pain of death, no person be so bold
Or daring-hardy as to touch the lists,
Except the marshal and such officers
Appointed to direct these fair designs. 45

Boling. Lord marshal, let me kiss my sovereign's hand,
And bow my knee before his majesty:
For Mowbray and myself are like two men
That vow a long and weary pilgrimage;
Then let us take a ceremonious leave 50
And loving farewell of our several friends.

Marshal. The appellant in all duty greets your highness,
And craves to kiss your hand and take his leave.

K. Richard. We will descend and fold him in our arms.
Cousin of Hereford, as thy cause is right, 55
So be thy fortune in this royal fight!
Farewell, my blood; which if to-day thou shed,
Lament we may, but not revenge thee dead.

Bolingbroke. O, let no noble eye profane a tear
For me, if I be gored with Mowbray's spear: 60
As confident as is the falcon's flight
Against a bird, do I with Mowbray fight.

[*To Lord Marshal*] My loving lord, I take my leave of
you;

Of you, my noble cousin, Lord Aumerle;
Not sick, although I have to do with death, 65
But lusty, young, and cheerly drawing breath.
Lo, as at English feasts, so I regret
The daintiest last, to make the end most sweet:

[*To Gaunt*] O thou, the earthly author of my blood,

Whose youthful spirit, in me regenerate, 70
Doth with a twofold vigour lift me up
To reach at victory above my head,
Add proof unto mine armour with thy prayers;
And with thy blessings steel my lance's point,
That it may enter Mowbray's waxen coat, 75
And furbish new the name of John o' Gaunt,
Even in the lusty haviour of his son.

Gaunt. God in thy good cause make thee prosperous!
Be swift like lightning in the execution;
And let thy blows, doubly redoubled, 80
Fall like amazing thunder on the casque
Of thy adverse pernicious enemy:
Rouse up thy youthful blood, be valiant and live.

Boling. Mine innocency and Saint George to thrive!

Mowbray. However God or fortune cast my lot, 85
There lives or dies, true to King Richard's throne,
A loyal, just, and upright gentleman:
Never did captive with a freer heart
Cast off his chains of bondage and embrace
His golden uncontroll'd enfranchisement, 90
More than my dancing soul doth celebrate
This feast of battle with mine adversary.
Most mighty liege, and my companion peers,
Take from my mouth the wish of happy years:
As gentle and as jocund as to jest 95
Go I to fight: truth hath a quiet breast.

K. Richard. Farewell, my lord; securely I espy
Virtue with valour couched in thine eye.
Order the trial, marshal, and begin.

Marshal. Harry of Hereford, Lancaster, and Derby, 100
Receive thy lance; and God defend the right!

Bolingbroke. Strong as a tower in hope, I cry amen.

Marshal [*To an Officer*]. Go bear this lance to Thomas,
Duke of Norfolk.

First Herald. Harry of Hereford, Lancaster, and Derby,
Stands here for God, his sovereign, and himself, 105
On pain to be found false and recreant,
To prove the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray,
A traitor to his God, his king, and him;
And dares him to set forward to the fight.

Second Herald. Here standeth Thomas Mowbray, Duke
of Norfolk, 110
On pain to be found false and recreant,
Both to defend himself, and to approve
Henry of Hereford, Lancaster, and Derby,
To God, his sovereign, and to him disloyal;
Courageously and with a free desire 115
Attending but the signal to begin.

Marshal. Sound, trumpets; and set forward, combatants.
[*A charge sounded.*]

Stay, the king hath thrown his warder down.

K. Rich. Let them lay by their helmets and their spears,
And both return back to their chairs again: 120
Withdraw with us: and let the trumpets sound.
While we return these dukes what we decree.

[*A long flourish.*]

Draw near,
And list what with our council we have done.
For that our kingdom's earth should not be soil'd 125
With that dear blood which it hath fostered;
And for our eyes do hate the dire aspect
Of civil wounds plough'd up with neighbours' sword;
And for we think the eagle-winged pride
Of sky-aspiring and ambitious thoughts, 130
With rival-hating envy, set on you

To wake our peace, which in our country's cradle
Draws the sweet infant breath of gentle sleep ;
Which so roused up with boisterous untuned drums,
With harsh-resounding trumpets' dreadful bray, 135
And grating shock of wrathful iron arms,
Might from our quiet confines fright fair peace,
And make us wade even in our kindred's blood ;
Therefore we banish you our territories :
You, cousin Hereford, upon pain of life, 140
Till twice five summers have enrich'd our fields
Shall not regret our fair dominions,
But tread the stranger paths of banishment.

Boling. Your will be done : this must my comfort be,—
That sun that warms you here shall shine on me ; 145
And those his golden beams to you here lent
Shall point on me and gild my banishment.

K. Richard. Norfolk, for thee remains a heavier doom,
Which I with some unwillingness pronounce :
The sly slow hours ~~shall~~ not determinate 150
The dateless limit of thy dear exile ;
The hopeless word of "never to return"
Breathe I against thee, upon pain of life.

Mowbray. A heavy sentence; my most sovereign liege,
And all unlook'd for from your highness' mouth : 155
A dearer merit, not so deep a main
As to be cast forth in the common air,
Have I deserved at your highness' hands.
The language I have learn'd these forty years,
My native English, now I must forgo : 160
And now my tongue's use is to me no more
Than an unstringed viol or a harp ;
Or like a cunning instrument cased up,
Or, being open, put into his hands

That knows no touch to tune the harmony ; 165
 Within my mouth you have engaol'd my tongue,
 Doubly portcullis'd with my teeth and lips ;
 And dull, unfeeling, barren ignorance
 Is made my gaoler to attend on me.
 I am too old to fawn upon a nurse, 170
 Too far in years to be a pupil now :
 What is thy sentence then but speechless death,
 Which robs my tongue from breathing native breath ?

K. Richard. It boots thee not to be compassionate :
 After our sentence plaining comes too late. 175

Mowbray. Then thus I turn me from my country's light,
 To dwell in solemn shades of endless night.

K. Richard. Return again, and take an oath with ye.
 Lay on our royal sword your banish'd hands ;
 Swear by the duty that you owe to God,— 180
 Our part therein we banish with yourselves,—
 To keep the oath that we administer :
 You never shall—so help you truth and God !—
 Embrace each other's love in banishment ;
 Nor never look upon each other's face ; 185
 Nor never write, regret, nor reconcile
 This luring tempest of your home-bred hate ;
 Nor never by advised purpose meet
 To plot, contrive, or complot any ill
 'Gainst us, our state, our subjects, or our land. 190

Bolingbroke. I swear.

Mowbray. And I, to keep all this.

Bolingbroke. Norfolk, so far as to mine enemy ;—
 By this time, had the king permitted us,
 One of our souls had wander'd in the air, 195
 Banish'd this frail sepulchre of our flesh,
 As now our flesh is banish'd from this land :

Confess thy treasons, ere thou fly the realm ;
Since thou hast far to go, bear not along
The clogging burden of a guilty soul. 200

Mowbray. No, Bolingbroke : if ever I were traitor,
My name be blotted from the book of life,
And I from heaven banish'd as from hence !
But what thou art, God, thou, and I ~~do know~~ ;
And all too soon, I fear, the king shall rue. 205
Farewell, my liege.—Now no way can I stray :
Save back to England, all the world's my way. [*Exit.*

K. Richard. Uncle, even in the glasses of thine eyes
I see thy grieved heart : thy sad aspect
Hath from the number of his banish'd years 210
Pluck'd four away. [*To Boling.*] Six frozen winters spent,
Return with welcome home from banishment.

Bolingbroke. How long a time lies in one little word !
Four lagging winters and four wanton springs
End in a word : such is the breath of kings. 215

Gaunt. I thank my liege, that in regard of me
He shortens four years of my son's exile :
But little vantage shall I reap thereby ;
For, ere the six years that he hath to spend
Can change their moons and bring their times about, 220
My oil-dried lamp and time-bewasted light
Shall be extinct with age and endless night ;
My inch of taper will be burnt and done,
And blindfold death not let me see my son. 224

K. Richard. Why, uncle, thou hast many years to live.

Gaunt. But not a minute, king, that thou canst give :
Shorten my days thou canst with sullen sorrow,
And pluck nights from me, but not lend a morrow ;
Thou canst help time to furrow me with age,
But stop no wrinkle in his pilgrimage ; 230

Thy word is current with him for my death,
But dead, thy kingdom cannot buy my breath.

King Richard. Thy son is banish'd upon good advice,
Whereto thy tongue a party-verdict gave:
Why at our justice seem'st thou then to lour? 235

Gaunt. Things sweet to taste prove in digestion sour.
You urged me as a judge! but I had rather
You would have bid me argue like a father.
O, had it been a stranger, not my child,
To smooth his fault I should have been more mild: 240
A partial slander sought I to avoid,
And in the sentence my own life destroy'd.
Alas, I look'd when some of you should say,
I was too strict to make mine own away;
But you gave leave to my unwilling tongue 245
Against my will to do myself this wrong.

K. Richard. Cousin, farewell; and, uncle, bid him so:
Six years we banish him, and he shall go.

[*Flourish. Exeunt King Richard and Train.*]

Aum. Cousin, farewell: what presence must not know,
From where you do remain let paper show. 250

Marshal. My lord, no leave take I; for I will ride,
As far as land will let me, by your side.

Gaunt. O, to what purpose dost thou hoard thy words,
That thou return'st no greeting to thy friends?

Bolingbroke. I have too few to take my leave of you,
When the tongue's office should be prodigal 255
To breathe the abundant dolour of the heart.

Gaunt. Thy grief is but thy absence for a time.

Bolingbroke. Joy absent, grief is present for that time.

Gaunt. What is six winters? they are quickly gone. 260

Boling. To men in joy; but grief makes one hour ten.

Gaunt. Call it a travel that thou takest for pleasure.

Bolingbroke. My heart will sigh when I miscall it so,
Which finds it an enforced pilgrimage.

Gaunt. The sullen passage of thy weary steps 265
Esteem as foil wherein thou art to set
The precious jewel of thy home-return.

Bolingbroke. Nay, rather, every tedious stride I make
Will but remember me what deal of world
I wander from the jewels that I love. 270
Must I not serve a long apprenticeship
To foreign passages; and in the end,
Having my freedom, boast of nothing else
But that I was a journeyman to grief?

Gaunt. All places that the eye of heaven visits 275
Are to a wise man ports and happy havens.
Teach thy necessity to reason thus;
There is no virtue like necessity.
Think not the king did banish thee,
But thou the king: woe doth the heavier sit, 280
Where it perceives it is but faintly borne.
Go, say I sent thee forth to purchase honour,
And not the king exiled thee; or suppose
Devouring pestilence hangs in our air,
And thou art flying to a fresher clime: 285
Look, what thy soul holds dear, imagine it
To lie that way thou go'st, not whence thou comest:
Suppose the singing birds musicians,
The grass whereon thou tread'st the presence strew'd,
The flowers fair ladies, and thy steps no more 290
Than a delightful measure or a dance;
For gnarling sorrow hath less power to bite
The man that mocks at it and sets it light.

Bolingbroke. O, who can hold a fire in his hand
By thinking on the frosty Caucasus? 295

Or cloy the hungry edge of appetite
 By bare imagination of a feast?
 Or wallow naked in December snow
 By thinking on fantastic summer's heat?
 O, no! the apprehension of the good 300
 Gives but the greater feeling to the worse:
 Fell sorrow's tooth doth never rankle more
 Than when he bites, but lanceth not the sore.

Gaunt. Come, come, my son, I'll bring thee on thy way:
 Had I thy youth and cause, I would not stay. 305

Bolingbroke. Then, England's ground, farewell; sweet
 soil, adieu;

My mother, and my nurse, that bears me yet!
 Where'er I wander, boast of ~~this~~ I can,—
 Though banish'd, yet a trueborn Englishman. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV. *The court.*

*Enter, from one side, King RICHARD, BAGOT, and GREEN;
 from the other, the Duke of AUMERLE.*

K. Richard. We did observe. Cousin Aumerle,
 How far brought you high Hereford on his way?

Aumerle. I brought high Hereford, if you call him so,
 But to the next highway, and there I left him. 4

K. Rich. And say, what store of parting tears were shed?

Aum. Faith, none for me; except the north-east wind,
 Which then blew bitterly against our faces,
 Awaked the sleeping rheum, and so by chance
 Did grace our hollow parting with a tear.

K. Richard. What said our cousin when you parted
 with him? 10

Aumerle. "Farewell":

And, for my heart disdained that my tongue
Should so profane the word, that taught me craft
To counterfeit oppression of such grief
That words seem'd buried in my sorrow's grave. 15
Marry, would the word "farewell" have lengthen'd hours,
And added years to his short banishment,
He should have had a volume of "farewells";
But since it would not, he had none of me.

K. Rich. He is our cousin, cousin; but 'tis doubt, 20
When time shall call him home from banishment,
Whether our kinsman come to see his friends.
Ourself and Bushy, Bagot here and Green
Observed his courtship to the common people;
How he did seem to dive into their hearts 25
With humble and familiar courtesy,
What reverence he did throw away on slaves,
Wooing poor craftsmen with the craft of smiles
And patient underbearing of his fortune,
As 'twere to banish their affects with him. 30
Off goes his bonnet to an oyster-wench;
A brace of draymen bid God speed him well,
And had the tribute of his supple knee,
With "Thanks, my countrymen, my loving friends:"
As were our England in reversion his, 35
And he our subjects' next degree in hope.

Green. Well, he is gone; and with him go these thoughts.
Now for the rebels which stand out in Ireland,
Expedient manage must be made, my liege,
Ere further leisure yield them further means 40
For their advantage and your highness' loss.

K. Richard. We will ourself in person to this war:
And, for our coffers, with too great a court

And liberal largess, are grown somewhat light,
We are enforced to farm our royal realm; 45
The revenue whereof shall furnish us
For our affairs in hand: if that come short,
Our substitutes at home shall have blank charters;
Whereto, when they shall know what men are rich,
They shall subscribe them for large sums of gold, 50
And send them after to supply our wants;
For we will make for Ireland presently.

Enter BUSHY.

Bushy, what news?

Bushy. Old John of Gaunt is grievous sick, my lord,
Suddenly taken; and hath sent post-haste 55
To entreat your majesty to visit him.

K. Richard. Where lies he?

Bushy. At Ely House.

K. Richard. Now put it, God, in his physician's mind
To help him to his grave immediately! 60
The lining of his coffers shall make coats
To deck our soldiers for these Irish wars.
Come, gentlemen, let's all go visit him:
Pray God we may make haste, and come too late!

All. Amen.

65
[*Exeunt.*

ACT II.

SCENE I. *London. Ely House.*

Enter JOHN OF GAUNT, *sick, with the Duke of YORK*
and others.

Gaunt. Will the king come, that I may breathe my last
In wholesome counsel to his unstaïd youth?

York. Vex not yourself, nor strive not with your breath;
For all in vain comes counsel to his ear.

Gaunt. O, but they say the tongues of dying men 5
Enforce attention like deep harmony:
Where words are scarce, they are seldom spent in vain;
For they breathe truth that breathe their words in pain.
He that no more must say is listen'd more

Than they whom youth and ease have taught to glose; 10
More are men's ends mark'd than their lives before:

The setting sun, and music at the close,
As the last taste of sweets, is sweetest last,
Writ in remembrance more than things long past:
Though Richard my life's counsel would not hear, 15
My death's sad tale may yet undeaf his ear.

York. No; it is stopp'd with other flattering sounds,
As praises, of whose taste the wise are fond,
Lascivious metres, to whose venom sound
The open ear of youth doth always listen; 20
Report of fashions in proud Italy,
Whose manners still our tardy apish nation
Limps after in base imitation.

Where doth the world thrust forth a vanity,—
So it be new, there's no respect how vile,— 25
That is not quickly buzz'd into his ears?

Then all too late comes counsel to be heard,
Where will doth mutiny with wit's regard.
Direct not him whose way himself will choose:
'Tis breath thou lack'st, and that breath wilt thou lose. 30

Gaunt. Methinks I am a prophet new inspired,
And thus expiring do foretell of him:
His rash fierce blaze of riot cannot last,
For violent fires soon burn out themselves;
Small showers last long, but sudden storms are short; 35
He tires betimes that spurs too fast betimes;
With eager feeding food doth choke the feeder:
Light vanity, insatiate cormorant,
Consuming means, soon preys upon itself.
This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle, 40
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise,
This fortress built by Nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war;
This happy breed of men, this little world; 45
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house,
Against the envy of less happier lands;
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England, 50
This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,
Fear'd by their breed and famous by their birth,
Renowned for their deeds as far from home,
For Christian service and true chivalry,
As is the sepulchre in stubborn Jewry 55
Of the world's ransom, blessed Mary's Son;
This land of such dear souls, this dear dear land,
Dear for her reputation through the world,
Is now leased out—I die pronouncing it—

Like to a tenement or pelting farin: 60
England, bound in with the triumphant sea,
Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege
Of watery Neptune, is now bound in with shame,
With inky blots and rotten parchment bonds:
That England, that was wont to conquer others, 65
Hath made a shameful conquest of itself.
Ah, would the scandal vanish with my life,
How happy then were my ensuing death!

Enter King RICHARD *and* Queen, AUMERLE, BUSHY,
GREEN, BAGOT, ROSS, *and* WILLOUGHBY.

York. The king is come: deal mildly with his youth;
For young hot colts ~~being~~ ^{being} raged do rage the more. 70

Queen. How fares ~~our~~ noble uncle, Lancaster?

K. Rich. What comfort, man? how is't with aged Gaunt?

Gaunt. O, how that name befits my composition!
Old Gaunt, indeed, and gaunt in being old:
Within me grief hath kept a tedious fast; 75
And who abstains from meat that is not gaunt?
For sleeping England long time have I watch'd;
Watching breeds leanness, leanness is all gaunt:
The pleasure that some fathers feed upon,
Is my strict fast,—I mean, my children's looks; 80
And therein fasting, hast thou made ~~me~~ ^{me} gaunt:
Gaunt am I for the grave, gaunt as a grave,
Whose hollow womb inherits nought but bones.

K. Rich. Can sick men play so nicely with their names?

Gaunt. No, misery makes sport to mock itself: 85
Since thou dost seek to kill my name in me,
I mock my name, great king, to flatter thee.

K. Rich. Should dying men flatter with those that live?

Gaunt. No, no, men living flatter those that die.

K. Rich. Thou, now a-dying, say'st thou flatterest me. 90

Gaunt. O, no! thou diest, though I the sicker be.

K. Rich. I am in health, I breathe, and see thee ill.

Gaunt. Now, He that made me knows I see thee ill;
Ill in myself to see, and in thee seeing ill.

Thy death-bed is no lesser than thy land, 95
Wherein thou liest in reputation sick;

And thou, too careless patient as thou art,
Committ'st thy anointed body to the cure
Of those physicians that first wounded thee:

A thousand flatterers sit within thy crown, 100
Whose compass is no bigger than thy head;

And yet, incaged in so small a verge,
The waste is no whit lesser than thy land.

O, had thy grandsire, with a prophet's eye,
Seen how his son's son should destroy his sons, 105

From forth thy reach he would have laid thy shame,
Deposing thee before thou wert possess'd,

Which art possess'd now to depose thyself.

Why, cousin, wert thou regent of the world,

It were a shame to let this land by lease; 110

But for thy world enjoying but this land,

Is it not more than shame to shame it so?

Landlord of England art thou now, not king:

Thy state of law is bondslave to the law;

And thou—

K. Richard. A lunatic lean-witted fool, 115
Presuming on an ague's privilege,

Darest with thy frozen admonition .

Make pale our cheek, chasing the royal blood
With fury from his native residence.

Now, by my seat's right royal majesty, 120

Wert thou not brother to great Edward's son,

This tongue that runs so roundly in thy head
Should run thy head from thy unreverent shoulders.

Gaunt. O, spare me not, my brother Edward's son,
For that I was his father Edward's son; 125
That blood already, like the pelican,
Hast thou tapp'd out and drunkenly caroused :
My brother Gloucester, plain well-meaning soul,—
Whom fair befall in heaven 'mongst happy souls!—
May be a precedent and witness good 130
That thou respect'st not spilling Edward's blood :
Join with the present sickness that I have ;
And thy unkindness be like crooked age,
To crop at once a too long wither'd flower.
Live in thy shame, but die not shame with thee ! 135
These words hereafter thy tormentors be !
Convey me to my bed, then to my grave :
Love they to live that love and honour have.

[*Exit, borne out by his Attendants.*]

K. Rich. And let them die that age and sullens have ;
For both hast thou, and both become the grave. 140

York. I do beseech your majesty, impute his words
To wayward sickliness and age in him :
He loves you, on my life, and holds you dear
As Harry Duke of Hereford, were he here.

K. Rich. Right, you say true : as Hereford's love, so his ;
As theirs, so mine ; and all be as it is. 146

Enter NORTHUMBERLAND.

Northumberland. My liege, old Gaunt commends him
to your majesty.

K. Richard. What says he ?

Northumberland. Nay, nothing ; all is said :
His tongue is now a stringless instrument ;

Words, life, and all, old Lancaster hath spent. 150

York. Be York the next that must be bankrupt so!
Though death be poor, it ends a mortal woe.

K. Richard. The ripest fruit first falls, and so doth he;
His time is spent, our pilgrimage must be:
So much for that. Now for our Irish wars: 155
We must supplant those rough rug-headed kerns,
Which live like venom where no venom else
But only they have privilege to live.
And for these great affairs do ask some charge,
Towards our assistance we do seize to us 160
The plate, coin, revenues and movables,
Whereof our uncle Gaunt did stand possess'd.

York. How long shall I be patient? ah, how long
Shall tender duty make me suffer wrong?
Not Gloucester's death, nor Hereford's banishment, 165
Not Gaunt's rebukes, nor England's private wrongs,
Nor the prevention of poor Bolingbroke
About his marriage, nor my own disgrace,
Have ever made me sour my patient cheek,
Or bend one wrinkle on my sovereign's face. 170
I am the last of noble Edward's sons,
Of whom thy father, Prince of Wales, was first:
In war was never lion-raged more fierce,
In peace was never gentle lamb more mild,
Than was that young and princely gentleman. 175
His face thou hast, for even so look'd he,
Accomplish'd with the number of thy hours;
But when he frown'd, it was against the French,
And not against his friends: his noble hand
Did win what he did spend, and spent not that 180
Which his triumphant father's hand had won:
His hands were guilty of no kindred's blood,

But bloody with the enemies of his kin.

O Richard! York is too far gone with grief,

Or else he never would compare between. 185

K. Richard. Why, uncle, what's the matter?

York. O my liege,

Pardon me, if you please; if not, I, pleased

Not to be pardon'd, am content withal.

Seek you to seize and gripe into your hands

The royalties and rights of banish'd Hereford? 190

Is not Gaunt dead, and doth not Hereford live?

Was not Gaunt just, and is not Harry true?

Did not the one deserve to have an heir?

Is not his heir a well-deserving son?

Take Hereford's rights away, and take from Time 195

His charters and his customary rights;

Let not to-morrow then ensue to-day;

Be not thyself; for how art thou a king

But by fair sequence and succession?

Now, afore God,—God forbid I say true!— 200

If you do wrongfully seize Hereford's rights,

Call in the letters-patents that he hath

By his attorneys-general to sue

His livery, and deny his offer'd homage,

You pluck a thousand dangers on your head, 205

You lose a thousand well-disposed hearts,

And prick my tender patience to those thoughts

Which honour and allegiance cannot think.

K. Rich. Think what you will, we seize into our hands
His plate, his goods, his money and his lands. 210

York. I'll not be by the while: my liege, farewell:

What will ensue hereof, there's none can tell;

But by bad courses may be understood

That their events can never fall out good. [*Exit.*

K. Rich. Go, Bushy, to the Earl of Wiltshire straight :
Bid him repair to us to Ely House 216
To see this business. To-morrow next
We will for Ireland ; and 'tis time, I trow :
And we create, in absence of ourself,
Our uncle York lord governor of England ; 220
For he is just, and always loved us well.
Come on, our queen : to-morrow must we part ;
Be merry, for our time of stay is short.

[*Flourish. Exeunt King, Queen, Aumerle,
Bushy, Green, and Bagot.*]

North. Well, lords, the Duke of Lancaster is dead.

Ross. And living too ; for now his son is duke. 225

Willoughby. Barely in title, not in revenue.

North. Richly in both, if justice had her right.

Ross. My heart is great ; but it must break with silence,
Ere't be disburden'd with a liberal tongue.

Northumberland. Nay, speak thy mind ; and let him
ne'er speak more 230

That speaks thy words again to do thee harm !

Willoughby. Tends that thou wouldst speak to the
Duke of Hereford ?

If it be so, out with it boldly, man ;

Quick is mine ear to hear of good towards him.

Ross. No good at all, that I can do for him ; 235
Unless you call it good to pity him,
Bereft and spoiled of his patrimony.

North. Now, afore God, 'tis shame such wrongs are borne
In him, a royal prince, and many moe
Of noble blood in this declining land. 240
The king is not himself, but basely led
By flatterers ; and what they will inform,
Merely in hate, 'gainst any of us all,

That will the king severely prosecute
'Gainst us, our lives, our children, and our heirs. 245

Ross. The commons hath he pill'd with grievous taxes,
And quite lost their hearts: the nobles hath he fined
For ancient quarrels, and quite lost their hearts.

Willoughby. And daily new exactions are devised,
As blanks, benevolences, and I wot not what: 250
But what, o' God's name, doth become of this?

Northumberland. Wars have not wasted it, for warr'd he
hath not,

But basely yielded upon compromise
That which his ancestors achieved with blows:
More hath he spent in peace than they in wars. 255

Ross. The Earl of Wiltshire hath the realm in farm.

Willo. The king's grown bankrupt, like a broken man.

North. Reproach and dissolution hangeth over him.

Ross. He hath not money for these Irish wars,
His burdenous taxations notwithstanding, 260
But by the robbing of the banish'd duke.

North. His noble kinsman: most degenerate king!
But, lords, we hear this fearful tempest sing,
Yet seek no shelter to avoid the storm;
We see the wind sit sore upon our sails, 265
And yet we strike not, but securely perish.

Ross. We see the very wreck that we must suffer;
And unavoided is the danger now,
For suffering so the causes of our wreck.

North. Not so; even through the hollow eyes of death
I spy life peering; but I dare not say 271
How near the tidings of our comfort is.

Willoughby. Nay, let us share thy thoughts, as thou
dost ours.

Ross. Be confident to speak, Northumberland:

We three are but thyself; and, speaking so, 275
Thy words are but as thoughts; therefore, be bold.

North. Then thus: I have from Port le Blanc, a bay
In Brittany, received intelligence
That Harry Duke of Hereford, Rainold Lord Cobham,

That late broke from the Duke of Exeter, 281
His brother, Archbishop late of Canterbury,
Sir Thomas Erpingham, Sir John Ramston,
Sir John Norbery, Sir Robert Waterton, and Francis
Quoint,—

All these well furnish'd by the Duke of Bretagne 285
With eight tall ships, three thousand men of war,
Are making hither with all due expedience,
And shortly mean to touch our northern shore:
Perhaps they had ere this, but that they stay
The first departing of the king for Ireland. 290
If then we shall shake off our slavish yoke,
Imp out our drooping country's broken wing,
Redeem from broking pawn the blemish'd crown,
Wipe off the dust that hides our sceptre's gilt,
And make high majesty look like itself, 295
Away with me in post to Ravenspurgh;
But if you faint, as fearing to do so,
Stay and be secret, and myself will go.

Ross. To horse, to horse! urge doubts to them that
fear.

Will. Hold out my horse, and I will first be there. 300

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE II. *Windsor Castle.*

Enter Queen, BUSHY, and BAGOT.

Bushy. Madam, your majesty is too much sad:
You promised, when you parted with the king,
To lay aside life-harming heaviness,
And entertain a cheerful disposition.

Queen. To please the king, I did; to please myself, 5
I cannot do it; yet I know no cause
Why I should welcome such a guest as grief,
Save bidding farewell to so sweet a guest
As my sweet Richard: yet again, methinks
Some unborn sorrow, ripe in fortune's womb, 10
Is coming towards me, and my inward soul
With nothing trembles: at something it grieves,
More than with parting from my lord the king.

Bushy. Each substance of a grief hath twenty shadows,
Which shows like grief itself, but is not so; 15
For sorrow's eye, glazed with blinding tears,
Divides one thing entire to many objects;
Like perspectives, which rightly gazed upon
Show nothing but confusion,—eyed awry,
Distinguish form: so your sweet majesty, 20
Looking awry upon your lord's departure,
Find shapes of grief, more than himself, to wail;
Which, look'd on as it is, is nought but shadows
Of what it is not. Then, thrice-gracious queen,
More than your lord's departure weep not: more's not seen;
Or if it be, 'tis with false sorrow's eye, 26
Which for things true weeps things imaginary.

Queen. It may be so; but yet my inward soul

Persuades me it is otherwise: howe'er it be,
I cannot but be sad; so heavy sad, 30
As, though on thinking on no thought I think,
Makes me with heavy nothing faint and shrink.

Bushy. 'Tis nothing but conceit, my gracious lady.

Queen. 'Tis nothing less: conceit is still derived
From some forefather grief; mine is not so, 35
For nothing hath begot my something grief;
Or something hath the nothing that I grieve:
'Tis in reversion that I do possess;
But what it is, that is not yet known; what
I cannot name; 'tis nameless woe, I wot. 40

Enter GREEN.

Green. God save your majesty! and well met, gentlemen:

I hope the king is not yet shipp'd for Ireland.

Queen. Why hopest thou so? 'tis better hope he is;
For his designs crave haste, his haste good hope:
Then wherefore dost thou hope he is not shipp'd? 45

Green. That he, our hope, might have retired his power,
And driven into despair an enemy's hope,
Who strongly hath set footing in this land:
The banish'd Bolingbroke repeals himself,
And with uplifted arms is safe arrived 50
At Ravenspurg.

Queen. Now God in heaven forbid!

Green. Ah, madam, 'tis too true: and that is worse,
The Lord Northumberland, his son young Henry Percy,
The Lords of Ross, Beaumont, and Willoughby,
With all their powerful friends, are fled to him. 55

Bushy. Why have you not proclaim'd Northumberland
And all the rest revolted faction traitors?

Green. We have: whereupon the Earl of Worcester
Hath broke his staff, resign'd his stewardship,
And all the household servants fled with him 60
To Bolingbroke.

Queen. So, Green, thou art the midwife to my woe,
And Bolingbroke my sorrow's dismal heir;
Now hath my soul brought forth her prodigy.

Bushy. Despair not, madam.

Queen. Who shall hinder me? 65
I will despair, and be at enmity
With cozening hope: he is a flatterer,
A parasite, a keeper-back of death,
Who gently would dissolve the bands of life,
Which false hope lingers in extremity. 70

Green. Here comes the Duke of York.

Queen. With signs of war about his aged neck:
O, full of careful business are his looks!

Enter YORK.

Uncle, for God's sake, speak comfortable words.

York. Should I do so, I should belie my thoughts: 75
Comfort's in heaven; and we are on the earth,
Where nothing lives but crosses, care and grief.
Your husband, he is gone to save far off,
Whilst others come to make him lose at home:
Here am I left to underprop his land, 80
Who, weak with age, cannot support myself:
Now comes the sick hour that his surfeit made;
Now shall he try his friends that flatter'd him.

Enter a Servant.

Servant. My lord, your son was gone before I came.

York. He was? Why, so! go all which way it will! 85
The nobles they are fled, the commons they are cold,

And will, I fear, revolt on Hereford's side.
Sirrah, get thee to Plashy, to my sister Gloucester;
Bid her send me presently a thousand pound:
Hold, take my ring. 90

Servant. My lord, I had forgot to tell your lordship,
To-day, as I came by, I called there;
But I shall grieve you to report the rest.

York. What is it, knave?

Servant. An hour before I came, the duchess died. 95

York. God for his mercy! what a tide of woes
Comes rushing on this woeful land at once!
I know not what to do: I would to God,—
So my untruth had not provoked him to it,—
The king had cut off my head with my brother's. 100
What, are there no posts dispatch'd for Ireland?
How shall we do for money for these wars?
Come, sister,—cousin, I would say,—pray, pardon me.
[*To the Servant*] Go, fellow, get thee home, provide some
carts,

And bring away the armour that is there. [*Exit Servant.*

Gentlemen, will you go muster men? 106

If I know how or which way to order these affairs,

Thus thrust disorderly into my hands,

Never believe me. Both are my kinsmen:

The one is my sovereign, whom both my oath 110

And duty bids defend; the other again

Is my kinsman, whom the king hath wrong'd,

Whom conscience and my kindred bids to right.

Well, somewhat we must do.—Come, cousin, I'll

Dispose of you. 115

Gentlemen, go muster up your men,

And meet me presently at Berkeley.

I should to Plashy too;

But time will not permit: all is uneven,
And every thing is left at six and seven. 120

[*Exeunt York and Queen.*

Bushy. The wind sits fair for news to go to Ireland,
But none returns. For us to levy power
Proportionable to the enemy
Is all impossible.

Green. Besides, our nearness to the king in love 125
Is near the hate of those love not the king.

Bagot. And that's the wavering commons: for their love
Lies in their purses, and ~~whoso~~ empties them,
By so much fills their ~~hearts~~ with deadly hate.

Bushy. Wherein the king stands generally condemn'd. 130

Bagot. If judgment lie in them, then so do we,
Because we ever have been near the king.

Green. Well, I will for refuge straight to Bristol castle:
The Earl of Wiltshire is already there.

Bushy. Thither will I with you; for little office 135
The hateful commons will perform for us,
Except like curs to tear us all to pieces.
Will you go along with us?

Bagot. No; I will to Ireland to his majesty.
Farewell: if heart's presages be not vain, 140
We three here part that ne'er shall meet again.

Bushy. That's as York thrives to beat back Bolingbroke.

Green. Alas, poor duke! the task he undertakes
Is numbering sands and drinking oceans dry:
Where one on his side fights, thousands will fly. 145
Farewell at once,—for once, for all, and ever.

Bushy. Well, we may meet again.

Bagot. I fear me, never.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE III. *Wilds in Gloucestershire.*

Enter BOLINGBROKE and NORTHUMBERLAND, with Forces.

Bolingbroke. How far is it, my lord, to Berkeley now?

Northumberland. Believe me, noble lord,
I am a stranger here in Gloucestershire :
These high wild hills and rough uneven ways
Draws out our miles, and makes them wearisome ; 5
And yet your fair discourse hath been as sugar,
Making the hard way sweet and delectable.
But I bethink me what a weary way
From Ravenspurg to Cotswold will be found
In Ross and Willoughby, wanting your company, 10
Which, I protest, hath very much beguiled
The tediousness and process of my travel :
But theirs is sweeten'd with the hope to have
The present benefit which I possess ;
And hope to joy is little less in joy 15
Than hope enjoy'd : by this the weary lords
Shall make their way seem short, as mine hath done
By sight of what I have, your noble company.

Bolingbroke. Of much less value is my company
Than your good words. But who comes here? 20

Northumberland. It is my son, young Harry Percy,
Sent from my brother Worcester, whencesoever.

Enter PERCY.

Harry, how fares your uncle?

Percy. I had thought, my lord, to have learn'd his health
of you.

Northumberland. Why, is he not with the queen? 25

Percy. No, my good lord ; he hath forsook the court,

Broken his staff of office, and dispersed
The household of the king.

Northumberland.

What was his reason?

He was not so resolved when last we spake together.

Percy. Because your lordship was proclaimed traitor. 30
But he, my lord, is gone to Ravenspurg,
To offer service to the Duke of Hereford;
And sent me o'er by Berkeley, to discover
What power the Duke of York had levied there;
Then with directions to repair to Ravenspurg. 35

North. Have you forgot the Duke of Hereford, boy?

Percy. No, my good lord; for that is not forgot
Which ne'er I did remember: to my knowledge,
I never in my life did look on him.

North. Then learn to know him now; this is the duke.

Percy. My gracious lord, I tender you my service, 41
Such as it is, being tender, raw and young;
Which elder days shall ripen and confirm
To more approved service and desert.

Bolingbroke. I thank thee, gentle Percy; and be sure 45
I count myself in nothing else so happy
As in a soul remembering my good friends;
And, as my fortune ripens with thy love,
It shall be still thy true love's recompense:
My heart this covenant makes, my hand thus seals it. 50

North. How far is it to Berkeley? and what stir
Keeps good old York there with his men of war?

Percy. There stands the castle, by yon tuft of trees,
Mann'd with three hundred men, as I have heard;
And in it are the Lords of York, Berkeley, and Seymour;
None else of name and noble estimate. 56

North. Come the Lords of Ross and Willoughby,
Bloody with spurring, fiery-red with haste.

Enter ROSS *and* WILLOUGHBY.

Boling. Welcome, my lords. I wot your love pursues
A banish'd traitor: all my treasury 60
Is yet but unfelt thanks, which, more enrich'd,
Shall be your love and labour's recompense.

Ross. Your presence makes us rich, most noble lord.

Willo. And far surmounts our labour to attain it.

Boling. Evermore thanks, the exchequer of the poor; 65
Which, till my infant fortune comes to years,
Stands for my bounty. But who comes here?

North. It is my Lord of Berkeley, as I guess.

Enter BERKELEY.

Berk. My Lord of Hereford, my message is to you.

Boling. My lord, my answer is—"to Lancaster"; 70
And I am come to seek that name in England;
And I must find that title in your tongue,
Before I make reply to aught you say.

Berk. Mistake me not, my lord: 'tis not my meaning
To raze one title of your honour out: 75
To you, my lord, I come,—what lord you will,—
From the most gracious regent of this land,
The Duke of York, to know what pricks you on
To take advantage of the absent time,
And fright our native peace with self-born arms. 80

Boling. I shall not need transport my words by you;
Here comes his grace in person.

Enter YORK *attended.*

My noble uncle! [*Kneels.*

York. Show me thy humble heart, and not thy knee,
Whose duty is deceivable and false.

Bolingbroke. My gracious uncle!

85

York. Tut, tut!

Grace me no grace, nor uncle me no uncle:

I am no traitor's uncle; and that word "grace"

In an ungracious mouth is but profane.

Why have those banish'd and forbidden legs 90

Dared once to touch a dust of England's ground?

But then more "why,"—why have they dared to march

So many miles upon her peaceful bosom,

Frighting her pale-faced villages with war

And ostentation of despised arms? 95

Comest thou because the anointed king is hence?

Why, foolish boy, the king is left behind,

And in my loyal bosom lies his power.

Were I but now the lord of such hot youth

As when brave Gaunt, thy father, and myself 100

Rescued the Black Prince, that young Mars of men,

From forth the ranks of many thousand French,

O, then how quickly should this arm of mine,

Now prisoner to the palsy, chastise thee,

And minister correction to thy fault! 105

Boling. My gracious uncle, let me know my fault;

On what condition stands it and wherein?

York. Even in condition of the worst degree,

In gross rebellion and detested treason:

Thou art a banish'd man, and here art come, 110

Before the expiration of thy time,

In braving arms against thy sovereign.

Boling. As I was banish'd, I was banish'd Hereford;

But as I come, I come for Lancaster.

And, noble uncle, I beseech your grace 115

Look on my wrongs with an indifferent eye:

You are my father, for methinks in you

I see old Gaunt alive ; O, then, my father,
Will you permit that I shall stand condemn'd
A wandering vagabond ; my rights and royalties 120
Pluck'd from my arms perforce and given away
To upstart unthrifths ? Wherefore was I born ?
If that my cousin king be King of England,
It must be granted I am Duke of Lancaster.
You have a son, Aumerle, my noble kinsman ; 125
Had you first died, and he been thus trod down,
He should have found his uncle Gaunt a father,
To rouse his wrongs and chase them to the bay.
I am denied to sue my livery here,
And yet my letters-patents give me leave : 130
My father's goods are all distrain'd and sold,
And these and all are all amiss employ'd.
What would you have me do ? I am a subject,
And challenge law : attorneys are denied me ;
And therefore personally I lay my claim 135
To my inheritance of free descent.

North. The noble duke hath been too much abused.

Ross. It stands your grace upon to do him right.

Willo. Base men by his endowments are made great.

York. My lords of England, let me tell you this : 140
I have had feeling of my cousin's wrongs,
And laboured all I could to do him right ;
But in this kind to come, in braving arms,
Be his own carver and cut out his way,
To find out right with wrong,—it may not be ; 145
And you that do abet him in this kind
Cherish rebellion and are rebels all.

North. The noble duke hath sworn his coming is
But for his own ; and for the right of that
We all have strongly sworn to give him aid ; 150

And let him ne'er see joy that breaks that oath !

York. Well, well, I see the issue of these arms ;
I cannot mend it, I must needs confess,
Because my power is weak and all ill left :
But if I could, by Him that gave me life, 155
I would attach you all and make you stoop
Unto the sovereign mercy of the king ;
But since I cannot, be it known to you
I do remain as neuter. So, fare you well ;
Unless you please to enter in the castle, 160
And there repose you for this night.

Bolingbroke. An offer, uncle, that we will accept :
But we must win your grace to go with us
To Bristol castle, which they say is held
By Bushy, Bagot, and their complices, 165
The caterpillars of the commonwealth,
Which I have sworn to weed and pluck away.

York. It may be I will go with you : but yet I'll pause ;
For I am loth to break our country's laws.
Nor friends nor foes, to me welcome you are : 170
'Things past redress are now with me past care. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV. *A camp in Wales.*

Enter SALISBURY and a Welsh Captain.

Cap. My Lord of Salisbury, we have stay'd ten days,
And hardly kept our countrymen together,
And yet we hear no tidings from the king ;
Therefore we will disperse ourselves : farewell.

Sal. Stay yet another day, thou trusty Welshman : 5
The king reposeth all his confidence in thee.

Cap. 'Tis thought the king is dead ; we will not stay.

The bay-trees in our country all are wither'd,
And meteors fright the fixed stars of heaven;
The pale-faced moon looks bloody on the earth, 10
And lean-look'd prophets whisper fearful change;
Rich men look sad, and ruffians dance and leap,—
The one in fear to lose what they enjoy,
The other to enjoy by rage and war:
These signs forerun the death or fall of kings. 15
Farewell: our countrymen are gone and fled,
As well assured Richard their king is dead. [Exit.
Salisbury. Ah, Richard, with the eyes of heavy mind,
I see thy glory, like a shooting star,
Fall to the base earth from the firmament! 20
Thy sun sets weeping in the lowly west,
Witnessing storms to come, woe and unrest:
Thy friends are fled to wait upon thy foes,
And crossly to thy good all fortune goes. [Exit.

ACT III.

SCENE I. BOLINGBROKE'S *camp at Bristol.*

Enter BOLINGBROKE, YORK, NORTHUMBERLAND, PERCY,
WILLOUGHBY, ROSS: Officers *behind*, with BUSHY and
GREEN, *prisoners.*

Bolingbroke. Bring forth these men.
Bushy and Green, I will not vex your souls—
Since presently your souls must part your bodies—
With too much urging your pernicious lives,
For 'twere no charity; yet, to wash your blood 5
From off my hands, here in the view of men

I will unfold some causes of your deaths.
You have misled a prince, a royal king,
A happy gentleman in blood and lineaments,
By you unhappied and disfigured clean ; 10
You have in manner with your sinful hours
Made a divorce betwixt his queen and him,
And stain'd the beauty of a fair queen's cheeks
With tears drawn from her eyes by your foul wrongs.
Myself,—a prince by fortune of my birth, 15
Near to the king in blood, and near in love
'Till you did make him misinterpret me,—
Have stoop'd my neck under your injuries,
And sigh'd my English breath in foreign clouds,
Eating the bitter bread of banishment ; 20
Whilst you have fed upon my signories,
Dispark'd my parks and fell'd my forest-woods,
From my own windows torn my household coat,
Razed out my imprese, leaving me no sign,
Save men's opinions and my living blood, 25
To show the world I am a gentleman.
This and much more, much more than twice all this,
Condemns you to the death. See them deliver'd over
To execution and the hand of death.

Bushy. More welcome is the stroke of death to me 30
Than Bolingbroke to England. Lords, farewell.

Green. My comfort is, that heaven will take our souls,
And plague injustice with the pains of hell.

Boling. My Lord Northumberland, see them dispatch'd.
[*Exeunt Northumberland and others, with
the prisoners.*]

Uncle, you say the queen is at your house ; 35
For God's sake, fairly let her be entreated :
Tell her I send to her my kind commends ;

Take special care my greetings be deliver'd.

York. A gentleman of mine I have dispatch'd
With letters of your love to her at large. 40

Boling. Thanks, gentle uncle. Come, lords, away,
To fight with Glendower and his complices:
Awhile to work, and after holiday. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II. *The coast of Wales. A castle in view.*

*Flourish; drums and trumpets. Enter King RICHARD, the
Bishop of CARLISLE, AUMERLE, and Soldiers, with
colours.*

K. Rich. Barkloughly castle call they this at hand?

Aum. Yea, my lord. How brooks your grace the air,
After your late tossing on the breaking seas?

K. Rich. Needs must I like it well: I weep for joy
To stand upon my kingdom once again. 5
Dear earth, I do salute thee with my hand,
Though rebels wound thee with their horses' hoofs:
As a long-parted mother with her child
Plays fondly with her tears and smiles in meeting,
So, weeping, smiling, greet I thee, my earth, 10
And do thee favours with my royal hands.
Feed not thy sovereign's foe, my gentle earth,
Nor with thy sweets comfort his ravenous sense;
But let thy spiders, that suck up thy venom,
And heavy-gaited toads, lie in their way, 15
Doing annoyance to the treacherous feet
Which with usurping steps do trample thee:
Yield stinging-nettles to mine enemies;
And when they from thy bosom pluck a flower,
Guard it, I pray thee, with a lurking adder, 20

Whose double tongue may with a mortal touch
Throw death upon thy sovereign's enemies.
Mock not my senseless conjuration, lords:
This earth shall have a feeling and these stones
Prove armed soldiers, ere her native king 25
Shall falter under foul rebellion's arms.

Car. Fear not, my lord: that Power that made you king
Hath power to keep you king in spite of all.
The means that heaven yields must be embraced,
And not neglected; else, if heaven would, 30
And we will not, heaven's offer we refuse,
The proffer'd means of succour and redress.

Aum. He means, my lord, that we are too remiss;
Whilst Bolingbroke, through our security,
Grows strong and great in substance and in power. 35

K. Richard. Discomfortable cousin! know'st thou not
That when the searching eye of heaven is hid,
Behind the globe, that lights the lower world,
Then thieves and robbers range abroad unseen
In murders and in outrage, boldly here; 40
But when from under this terrestrial ball
He fires the proud tops of the eastern pines
And darts his light through every guilty hole,
Then murders, treasons and detested sins,
The cloak of night being pluck'd from off their backs, 45
Stand bare and naked, trembling at themselves?
So when this thief, this traitor, Bolingbroke,—
Who all this while hath revell'd in the night,
Whilst we were wandering with the Antipodes,—
Shall see us rising in our throne, the east, 50
His treasons will sit blushing in his face,
Not able to endure the sight of day,
But self-affrighted tremble at his sin.

Not all the water in the rough rude sea
Can wash the balm from an anointed king; 55
The breath of worldly men cannot depose
The deputy elected by the Lord:
For every man that Bolingbroke hath press'd
To lift shrewd steel against our golden crown,
God for his Richard hath in heavenly pay 60
A glorious angel: then, if angels fight,
Weak men must fall, for heaven still guards the right.

Enter SALISBURY.

Welcome, my lord: how far off lies your power?

Salisbury. Nor near nor further off, my gracious lord,
Than this weak arm: discomfort guides my tongue, 65
And bids me speak of nothing but despair.
One day too late, I fear, my noble lord,
Hath clouded all thy happy days on earth:
O, call back yesterday, bid time return,
And thou shalt have twelve thousand fighting men! 70
To-day, to-day, unhappy day, too late,
O'erthrows thy joys, friends, fortune and thy state;
For all the Welshmen, hearing thou wert dead,
Are gone to Bolingbroke, dispersed and fled. 74

Aum. Comfort, my liege: why looks your grace so pale?

K. Rich. But now the blood of twenty thousand men
Did triumph in my face, and they are fled;
And, till so much blood thither come again,

Have I not reason to look pale and dead?
All souls that will be safe, fly from my side; 80
For time hath set a blot upon my pride.

Aumerle. Comfort, my liege; remember who you are.

K. Richard. I had forgot myself: am I not king?
Awake, thou sluggard majesty! thou sleepest.

Is not the king's name forty thousand names? 85
Arm, arm, my name! a puny subject strikes
At thy great glory. Look not to the ground,
Ye favourites of a king: are we not high?
High be our thoughts: I know my uncle York
Hath power enough to serve our turn. But who comes
here? 90

Enter SCROOP.

Scroop. More health and happiness betide my liege
Than can my care-tuned tongue deliver him!

K. Rich. Mine ear is open and my heart prepared:
The worst is worldly loss thou canst unfold.
Say, is my kingdom lost? why, 'twas my care; 95
And what loss is it to be rid of care?
Strives Bolingbroke to be as great as we?
Greater he shall not be; if he serve God,
We'll serve Him too, and be his fellow so:
Revolt our subjects? that we cannot mend; 100
They break their faith to God as well as us:
Cry woe, destruction, ruin, loss, decay;
The worst is death, and death will have his day.

Scroop. Glad am I that your highness is so arm'd
To bear the tidings of calamity. 105
Like an unseasonable stormy day,
Which makes the silver rivers drown their shores,
As if the world were all dissolved to tears;
So high above his limits swells the rage
Of Bolingbroke, covering your fearful land 110
With hard bright steel and hearts harder than steel.
White-beards have arm'd their thin and hairless scalps
Against thy majesty; boys with women's voices
Strive to speak big, and clap their female joints

In stiff unwieldy arms against thy crown; 115
Thy very beadsmen learn to bend their bows
Of double-fatal yew against thy state;
Yea, distaff-women manage rusty bills
Against thy seat: both young and old rebel,
And all goes worse than I have power to tell. 120

K. Rich. Too well, too well thou tell'st a tale so ill.
Where is the Earl of Wiltshire? where is Bagot?
What is become of Bushy? where is Green?
That they have let the dangerous enemy
Measure our confines with such peaceful steps? 125
If we prevail, their heads shall pay for it:
I warrant they have made peace with Bolingbroke.

Scroop. Peace have they made with him, indeed, my lord.

K. Rich. O villains, vipers, damn'd without redemption!
Dogs, easily won to fawn on any man! 130
Snakes, in my heart-blood warm'd, that sting my heart!
Three Judases, each one thrice worse than Judas!
Would they make peace? terrible hell make war
Upon their spotted souls for this offence!

Scroop. Sweet love, I see, changing his property, 135
Turns to the sourest and most deadly hate:
Again uncurse their souls; their peace is made
With heads, and not with hands: those whom you curse
Have felt the worst of death's destroying wound,
And lie full low, graved in the hollow ground. 140

Aum. Is Bushy, Green, and the Earl of Wiltshire dead?

Scroop. Yea, all of them at Bristol lost their heads.

Aum. Where is the duke my father with his power?

✓ *K. Rich.* No matter where; of comfort no man speak:
Let's talk of graves, of worms and epitaphs; 145
Make dust our paper and with rainy eyes
Write sorrow on the bosom of the earth.

Let's choose executors and talk of wills :

And yet not so,—for what can we bequeath
Save our deposed bodies to the ground? 150

Our lands, our lives, and all are Bolingbroke's,
And nothing can we call our own but death,
And that small model of the barren earth
Which serves as paste and cover to our bones.

For God's sake, let us sit upon the ground, 155
And tell sad stories of the death of kings :

How some have been deposed ; some slain in war ;
Some haunted by the ghosts they have deposed ;
Some poison'd by their wives ; some sleeping kill'd ;
All murder'd : for within the hollow crown 160

That rounds the mortal temples of a king
Keeps Death his court ; and there the antic sits,
Scoffing his state and grinning at his pomp ;
Allowing him a breath, a little scene,

‘ To monarchize, be fear'd and kill with looks ; 165
Infusing him with self and vain conceit,

As if this flesh, which walls about our life,
Were brass impregnable ; and, humour'd thus,
Comes at the last, and with a little pin
Bores through his castle-wall, and—farewell, king ! 170

Cover your heads and mock not flesh and blood
With solemn reverence ; throw away respect,
Tradition, form and ceremonious duty ;
For you have but mistook me all this while :
I live with bread like you, feel want, taste grief, 175
Need friends : subjected thus,

How can you say to me, I am a king?

. *Car.* My lord, wise men ne'er sit and wail their woes,
But presently prevent the ways to wail.

To fear the foe, since fear oppresseth strength, 180

Gives, in your weakness, strength unto your foe,
And so your follies fight against yourself.
Fear, and be slain; no worse can come to fight:
And fight and die is death destroying death;
Where fearing dying pays death servile breath. 185

Aumerle. My father hath a power; inquire of him,
And learn to make a body of a limb.

K. Richard. Thou chidest me well: proud Bolingbroke,
I come

To change blows with thee for our day of doom.
This ague fit of fear is over-blown; 190
An easy task it is to win our own.

Say, Scroop, where lies our uncle with his power?
Speak sweetly, man, although thy looks be sour.

Scroop. Men judge by the complexion of the sky
The state and inclination of the day; 195
So may you by my dull and heavy eye,
My tongue hath but a heavier tale to say.

I play the torturer, by small and small
To lengthen out the worst that must be spoken:
Your uncle York is join'd with Bolingbroke, 200
And all your northern castles yielded up,
And all your southern gentlemen in arms
Upon his party.

K. Richard. Thou hast said enough.

[*To Aumerle*] Beshrew thee, cousin, which didst lead me forth
Of that sweet way I was in to despair! 205

What say you now? what comfort have we now?
By heaven, I'll hate him everlastingly
That bids me be of comfort any more.

Go to Flint castle: there I'll pine away;
A king, woe's slave, shall kingly woe obey. 210
That power I have, discharge; and let them go

To ear the land that hath some hope to grow,
For I have none: let no man speak again
To alter this, for counsel is but vain.

Aum. My liege, one word.

K. Richard. He does me double wrong 215
That wounds me with the flatteries of his tongue.
Discharge my followers: let them hence away,
From Richard's night to Bolingbroke's fair day. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III. *Wales. Before Flint castle.*

Enter, with drum and colours, BOLINGBROKE and Forces ;
YORK, NORTHUMBERLAND, and others.

Bolingbroke. So that by this intelligence we learn
The Welshmen are dispersed, and Salisbury
Is gone to meet the king, who lately landed
With some few private friends upon this coast.

North. The news is very fair and good, my lord: 5
Richard not far from hence hath hid his head.

York. It would beseem the Lord Northumberland
To say "King Richard:" alack the heavy day
When such a sacred king should hide his head!

North. Your grace mistakes; only to be brief, 10
Left I his title out.

York. The time hath been,
Would you have been so brief with him, he would
Have been so brief with you, to shorten you,
For taking so the head, your whole head's length.

Boling. Mistake not, uncle, further than you should. 15

York. Take not, good cousin, further than you should,
Lest you mistake: the heavens are o'er our heads.

Bolingbroke. I know it, uncle, and oppose not myself
Against their will. But who comes here?

Enter PERCY.

Welcome, Harry: what, will not this castle yield? 20

Percy. The castle royally is mann'd, my lord,
Against thy entrance.

Bolingbroke. Royally!
Why, it contains no king?

Percy. Yes, my good lord,
It doth contain a king; King Richard lies 25
Within the limits of yon lime and stone:
And with him are the Lord Aumerle, Lord Salisbury,
Sir Stephen Scroop, besides a clergyman
Of holy reverence; who, I cannot learn.

North. O, belike it is the Bishop of Carlisle. 30

Bolingbroke. Noble lords,
Go to the rude ribs of that ancient castle;
Through brazen trumpet send the breath of parle
Into his ruin'd ears, and thus deliver:
Henry Bolingbroke 35
On both his knees doth kiss King Richard's hand,
And sends allegiance and true faith of heart
To his most royal person; hither come
Even at his feet to lay my arms and power,
Provided that my banishment repeal'd 40
And lands restored again be freely granted:
If not, I'll use the advantage of my power,
And lay the summer's dust with showers of blood
Rain'd from the wounds of slaughter'd Englishmen:
The which, how far off from the mind of Bolingbroke 45
It is, such crimson tempest should bedrench
The fresh green lap of fair King Richard's land,

My stooping duty tenderly shall show.
Go, signify as much, while here we march
Upon the grassy carpet of this plain. 50
Let's march without the noise of threatening drum,
That from this castle's tatter'd battlements
Our fair appointments may be well perused.
Methinks King Richard and myself should meet
With no less terror than the elements 55
Of fire and water, when their thundering shock
At meeting tears the cloudy cheeks of heaven.
Be he the fire, I'll be the yielding water :
The rage be his, while on the earth I rain
My waters,—on the earth, and not on him. 60
March on, and mark King Richard how he looks.

A parle sounded, and answered by another trumpet within.
Flourish. Enter on the walls, KING RICHARD, the
Bishop of Carlisle, AUMERLE, SCROOP, and SALISBURY.

See, see, King Richard doth himself appear,
As doth the blushing discontented sun
From out the fiery portal of the east,
When he perceives the envious clouds are bent 65
To dim his glory and to stain the track
Of his bright passage to the occident.

York. Yet looks he like a king: behold, his eye,
As bright as is the eagle's, lightens forth
Controlling majesty: alack, alack, for woe, 70
That any harm should stain so fair a show!

✓ *K. Richard [To Northumberland]* We are amazed; and
thus long have we stood
To watch the fearful bending of thy knee,
Because we thought ourself thy lawful king:

And if we be, how dare thy joints forget 75
To pay their awful duty to our presence?
If we be not, show us the hand of God
That hath dismiss'd us from our stewardship;
For well we know, no hand of blood and bone
Can gripe the sacred handle of our sceptre, 80
Unless he do profane, steal, or usurp.
And though you think that all, as you have done,
Have torn their souls by turning them from us,
And we are barren and bereft of friends;
Yet know, my master, God omnipotent, 85
Is mustering in his clouds on our behalf
Armies of pestilence; and they shall strike
Your children yet unborn and unbegot,
That lift your vassal hands against my head
And threat the glory of my precious crown. 90
Tell Bolingbroke,—for yond methinks he stands,—
That every stride he makes upon my land
Is dangerous treason: he is come to ope
The purple testament of bleeding war;
But ere the crown he looks for live in peace, 95
Ten thousand bloody crowns of mothers' sons
Shall ill become the flower of England's face,
Change the complexion of her maid-pale peace
To scarlet indignation and bedew
Her pastures' grass with faithful English blood. 100

North. The king of heaven forbid our lord the king
Should so with civil and uncivil arms
Be rush'd upon! Thy thrice-noble cousin
Harry Bolingbroke doth humbly kiss thy hand;
And by the honourable tomb he swears 105
That stands upon your royal grandsire's bones,
And by the royalties of both your bloods,

Currents that spring from one most gracious head,
And by the buried hand of warlike Gaunt,
And by the worth and honour of himself, 110
Comprising all that may be sworn or said,
His coming hither hath no further scope
Than for his lineal royalties and to beg
Enfranchisement immediate on his knees :
Which on thy royal party granted once, 115
His glittering arms he will commend to rust,
His barbed steeds to stables, and his heart
To faithful service of your majesty.
This swears he, as he is a prince, is just ;
And, as I am a gentleman, I credit him. 120

K. Rich. Northumberland, say thus the king returns :
His noble cousin is right welcome hither ;
And all the number of his fair demands
Shall be accomplish'd without contradiction :
With all the gracious utterance thou hast 125
Speak to his gentle hearing kind commends.
[*To Aumerle*] We do debase ourself, cousin, do we not,
To look so poorly and to speak so fair?
Shall we call back Northumberland, and send
Defiance to the traitor, and so die? 130

Aum. No, good my lord ; let's fight with gentle words
Till time lend friends, and friends their helpful swords.

K. Rich. O God, O God ! that e'er this tongue of mine,
That laid the sentence of dread banishment
On yon proud man, should take it off again 135
With words of sooth ! O that I were as great
As is my grief, or lesser than my name !
Or that I could forget what I have been !
Or not remember what I must be now !
Swell'st thou, proud heart ? I'll give thee scope to beat,

Since foes have scope to beat both thee and me. 141

Aum. Northumberland comes back from Bolingbroke.

K. Rich. What must the king do now? must he submit?

The king shall do it: must he be deposed?

The king shall be contented: must he lose 145

The name of king? o' God's name, let it go:

I'll give my jewels for a set of beads,

My gorgeous palace for a hermitage,

My gay apparel for an alms-man's gown,

My figured goblets for a dish of wood, 150

My sceptre for a palmer's walking-staff,

My subjects for a pair of carved saints,

And my large kingdom for a little grave,

A little little grave, an obscure grave;

Or I'll be buried in the king's highway, 155

Some way of common trade, where subjects' feet

May hourly trample on their sovereign's head;

For on my heart they tread now whilst I live;

And buried once, why not upon my head?

Aumerle, thou weep'st, my tender-hearted cousin! 160

We'll make foul weather with despised tears;

Our sighs and they shall lodge the summer corn,

And make a dearth in this revolting land.

Or shall we play the wantons with our woes,

And make some pretty match with shedding tears? 165

As thus;—to drop them still upon one place,

Till they have fretted us a pair of graves

Within the earth; and, therein laid,—“There lies

Two kinsmen digg'd their graves with weeping eyes.”

Would not this ill do well? Well, well, I see 170

I talk but idly, and you mock at me.

Most mighty prince, my Lord Northumberland,

What says King Bolingbroke? will his majesty

Give Richard leave to live till Richard die?

You make a leg, and Bolingbroke says ay. 175

North. My lord, in the base court he doth attend
To speak with you; may it please you to come down.

K. Rich. Down, down I come; like glistering Phaëthon,
Wanting the manage of unruly jades.

In the base court? Base court, where kings grow base,
To come at traitors' calls and do them grace. 181

In the base court? Come down? Down, court! down, king!
For night-owls shriek where mounting larks should sing.

[*Exeunt above.*

Boling. What says his majesty?

Northumberland. Sorrow and grief of heart
Makes him speak fondly, like a frantic man: 185
Yet he is come.

Enter KING RICHARD and his attendants below.

Bolingbroke. Stand all apart,
And show fair duty to his majesty.

My gracious lord,— [Kneeling.

K. Rich. Fair cousin, you debase your princely knee
To make the base earth proud with kissing it: 191

Me rather had my heart might feel your love
Than my displeased eye see your courtesy.

Up, cousin, up; your heart is up, I know,
Thus high at least, although your knee be low. 195

Boling. My gracious lord, I come but for mine own.

K. Richard. Your own is yours, and I am yours, and all.

Boling. So far be mine, my most redoubted lord,
As my true service shall deserve your love.

K. Rich. Well you deserve: they well deserve to have
That know the strong'st and surest way to get. 201
Uncle, give me your hand: nay, dry your eyes;

Tears show their love, but want their remedies.

Cousin, I am too young to be your father,

Though you are old enough to be my heir. 205

What you will have, I'll give, and willing too;

For do we must what force will have us do.

Set on towards London: cousin, is it so?

Boling. Yea, my good lord.

K. Richard. Then I must not say no.

[*Flourish. Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV. *Langley. The Duke of York's garden.*

Enter the Queen and two Ladies.

Queen. What sport shall we devise here in this garden,
To drive away the heavy thought of care?

First Lady. Madam, we'll play at bowls.

Queen. 'Twill make me think the world is full of rubs,
And that my fortune runs against the bias. 5

First Lady. Madam, we'll dance.

Queen. My legs can keep no measure in delight,
When my poor heart no measure keeps in grief:
Therefore, no dancing, girl; some other sport.

First Lady. Madam, we'll tell tales. 10

Queen. Of sorrow or of joy?

First Lady. Of either, madam.

Queen. Of neither, girl:
For if of joy, being altogether wanting,
It doth remember me the more of sorrow;
Or if of grief, being altogether had, 15
It adds more sorrow to my want of joy:

For what I have I need not to repeat;
And what I want it boots not to complain.

First Lady. Madam, I'll sing.

Queen. 'Tis well that thou hast cause;
But thou shouldst please me better, wouldst thou weep. 20

First Lady. I could weep, madam, would it do you
good.

Queen. And I could sing, would weeping do me good,
And never borrow any tear of thee.
But stay, here come the gardeners:
Let's step into the shadow of these trees. 25
My wretchedness unto a row of pins,
They'll talk of state; for every one doth so
Against a change: woe is forerun with woe.

[*Queen and Ladies retire.*

Enter a Gardener and two Servants.

Gardener. Go, bind thou up yon dangling apricocks,
Which, like unruly children, make their sire 30
Stoop with oppression of their prodigal weight:
Give some supportance to the bending twigs.
Go thou, and, like an executioner,
Cut off the heads of too fast growing sprays,
That look too lofty in our commonwealth: 35
All must be even in our government.
You thus employ'd, I will go root away
The noisome weeds, that without profit suck
The soil's fertility from wholesome flowers.

First Serv. Why should we in the compass of a pale 40
Keep law and form and due proportion,
Showing, as in a model, our firm estate,
When our sea-walled garden, the whole land,
Is full of weeds, her fairest flowers choked up,

Her fruit-trees all unpruned, her hedges ruin'd, 45
Her knots disorder'd, and her wholesome herbs
Swarming with caterpillars?

Gardener. Hold thy peace:
He that hath suffer'd this disorder'd spring
Hath now himself met with the fall of leaf:
The weeds which his broad-spreading leaves did shelter,
That seem'd in eating him to hold him up, 51
Are pluck'd up root and all by Bolingbroke,—
I mean the Earl of Wiltshire, Bushy, Green.

First Serv. What, are they dead?

Gardener. They are; and Bolingbroke
Hath seized the wasteful king. O, what pity is it 55
That he had not so trimm'd and dress'd his land
As we this garden! We at time of year
Do wound the bark, the skin of our fruit-trees,
Lest, being over-proud in sap and blood,
With too much riches it confound itself: 60
Had he done so to great and growing men,
They might have lived to bear and he to taste
Their fruits of duty: superfluous branches
We lop away, that bearing boughs may live:
Had he done so, himself had borne the crown, 65
Which waste of idle hours hath quite thrown down.

First Serv. What, think you then the king shall be
deposed?

Gardener. Depress'd he is already, and deposed
'Tis doubt he will be: letters came last night
To a dear friend of the good Duke of York's, 70
That tell black tidings.

Queen. O, I am press'd to death through want of
speaking! [Comes forward.
Thou, old Adam's likeness, set to dress this garden,

How dares thy harsh rude tongue sound this unpleasing news?

What Eve, what serpent, hath suggested thee 75
To make a second fall of cursed man?

Why dost thou say King Richard is deposed?
Darest thou, thou little better thing than earth,
Divine his downfall? Say, where, when, and how,
Camest thou by this ill tidings? speak, thou wretch. 80

Gardener. Pardon me, madam: little joy have I
To breathe this news: yet what I say is true.
King Richard, he is in the mighty hold
Of Bolingbroke: their fortunes both are weigh'd:
In your lord's scale is nothing but himself, 85
And some few vanities that make him light;
But in the balance of great Bolingbroke,
Besides himself, are all the English peers,
And with that odds he weighs King Richard down.
Post you to London, and you will find it so; 90
I speak no more than every one doth know.

Queen. Nimble mischance, thou art so light of foot,
Doth not thy embassy belong to me,
And am I last that knows it? O, thou think'st
To serve me last, that I may longest keep 95
Thy sorrow in my breast. Come, ladies, go,
To meet at London London's king in woe.
What, was I born to this, that my sad look
Should grace the triumph of great Bolingbroke?
Gardener, for telling me these news of woe, 100
Pray God the plants thou graft'st may never grow.

[*Exeunt Queen and Ladies.*]

Gard. Poor queen! so that thy state might be no worse,
I would my skill were subject to thy curse.
Here did she fall a tear; here in this place

I'll set a bank of rue, sour herb of grace: 105
Rue, even for ruth, here shortly shall be seen,
In the remembrance of a weeping queen. [*Exeunt.*

ACT IV.

SCENE I. *Westminster Hall.*

The Lords spiritual on the right side of the throne; the Lords temporal on the left; the Commons below. Enter BOLINGBROKE, AUMERLE, SURREY, NORTHUMBERLAND PERCY, FITZWATER, another Lord, the Bishop of Carlisle, the Abbot of Westminster, and Attendants. Officers behind, with BAGOT.

Bolingbroke. Call forth Bagot.

[*Officers bring Bagot to the bar.*

Now, Bagot, freely speak thy mind;
What thou dost know of noble Gloucester's death,
Who wrought it with the king, and who perform'd
The bloody office of his timeless end. 5

Bagot. Then set before my face the Lord Aumerle.

Boling. Cousin, stand forth, and look upon that man.

Bagot. My Lord Aumerle, I know your daring tongue
Scorns to unsay what once it hath deliver'd.
In that dead time when Gloucester's death was plotted,
I heard you say, "Is not my arm of length, 11
That reacheth from the restful English court
As far as Calais, to my uncle's head?"
Amongst much other talk, that very time,

I heard you say that you had rather refuse 15
The offer of an hundred thousand crowns
Than Bolingbroke's return to England;
Adding withal, how blest this land would be
In this your cousin's death.

Aumerle. Princes and noble lords,
What answer shall I make to this base man? 20
Shall I so much dishonour my fair stars
On equal terms to give him chastisement?
Either I must, or have mine honour soil'd
With the attainder of his slanderous lips.
There is my gage, the manual seal of death, 25
That marks thee out for hell: I say, thou liest,
And will maintain what thou hast said is false
In thy heart-blood, though being all too base
To stain the temper of my knightly sword.

Boling. Bagot, forbear; thou shalt not take it up. 30

Aumerle. Excepting one, I would he were the best
In all this presence that hath moved me so.

Fitzwater. If that thy valour stand on sympathy,
There is my gage, Aumerle, in gage to thine:
By that fair sun which shows me where thou stand'st, 35
I heard thee say, and vauntingly thou spakest it,
That thou wert cause of noble Gloucester's death.
If thou deny'st it twenty times, thou liest;
And I will turn thy falsehood to thy heart,
Where it was forged, with my rapier's point. 40

Aumerle. Thou dardest not, coward, live to see that day.

Fitzwater. Now, by my soul, I would it were this hour.

Aumerle. Fitzwater, thou art damn'd to hell for this.

Percy. Aumerle, thou liest; his honour is as true
In this appeal as thou art all unjust; 45
And that thou art so, there I throw my gage,

To prove it on thee to the extremest point
Of mortal breathing: seize it, if thou darest.

Aumerle. An if I do not, may my hands rot off,
And never brandish more revengeful steel 50
Over the glittering helmet of my foe!

Lord. I task the earth to the like, forsworn Aumerle;
And spur thee on with full as many lies
As may be holla'd in thy treacherous ear
From sun to sun: there is my honour's pawn; 55
Engage it to the trial, if thou darest.

Aum. Who sets me else? by heaven, I'll throw at all:
I have a thousand spirits in one breast,
To answer twenty thousand such as you.

Surrey. My Lord Fitzwater, I do remember well 60
The very time Aumerle and you did talk.

Fitzwater. 'Tis very true: you were in presence then;
And you can witness with me this is true.

Surrey. As false, by heaven, as heaven itself is true.

Fitzwater. Surrey, thou liest.

Surrey. Dishonourable boy! 65
That lie shall lie so heavy on my sword,
That it shall render vengeance and revenge
Till thou the lie-giver and that lie do lie
In earth as quiet as thy father's skull:
In proof whereof, there is my honour's pawn; 70
Engage it to the trial, if thou darest.

Fitz. How fondly dost thou spur a forward horse!
If I dare eat, or drink, or breathe, or live,
I dare meet Surrey in a wilderness,
And spit upon him, whilst I say he lies, 75
And lies, and lies: there is my bond of faith,
To tie thee to my strong correction.
As I intend to thrive in this new world,

Aumerle is guilty of my true appeal :
Besides, I heard the banish'd Norfolk say 80
That thou, Aumerle, didst send two of thy men
To execute the noble duke at Calais.

Aumerle. Some honest Christian trust me with a gage,
That Norfolk lies : here do I throw down this,
If he may be repeal'd, to try his honour. 85

Boling. These differences shall all rest under gage
Till Norfolk be repeal'd : repeal'd he shall be,
And, though mine enemy, restored again
To all his lands and signories : when he's return'd,
Against Aumerle we will enforce his trial. 90

Carlisle. That honourable day shall ne'er be seen.
Many a time hath banish'd Norfolk fought
For Jesu Christ in glorious Christian field,
Streaming the ensign of the Christian cross
Against black pagans, Turks, and Saracens ; 95
And toil'd with works of war, retired himself
To Italy ; and there at Venice gave
His body to that pleasant country's earth,
And his pure soul unto his captain Christ,
Under whose colours he had fought so long. 100

Bolingbroke. Why, bishop, is Norfolk dead ?

Carlisle. As surely as I live, my lord.

Boling. Sweet peace conduct his sweet soul to the bosom
Of good old Abraham. Lords appellants,
Your differences shall all rest under gage 105
Till we assign you to your days of trial.

Enter YORK, attended.

York. Great Duke of Lancaster, I come to thee
From plume-pluck'd Richard ; who with willing soul
Adopts thee heir, and his high sceptre yields

To the possession of thy royal hand: 110
Ascend his throne, descending now from him,—
And long live Henry, of that name the fourth!

Boling. In God's name, I'll ascend the regal throne.

Carlisle. Marry, God forbid!

Worst in this royal presence may I speak, 115
Yet best beseeming me to speak the truth.
Would God that any in this noble presence
Were enough noble to be upright judge
Of noble Richard! then true noblesse would
Learn him forbearance from so foul a wrong. 120
What subject can give sentence on his king?
And who sits here that is not Richard's subject?
Thieves are not judged but they are by to hear,
Although apparent guilt be seen in them;
And shall the figure of God's majesty, 125
His captain, steward, deputy elect,
Anointed, crowned, planted many years,
Be judged by subject and inferior breath,
And he himself not present? O, forfend it, God,
That in a Christian climate souls refined 130
Should show so heinous, black, obscene a deed!
I speak to subjects, and a subject speaks,
Stirr'd up by God, thus boldly for his king.
My Lord of Hereford here, whom you call king,
Is a foul traitor to proud Hereford's king; 135
And if you crown him, let me prophesy:
The blood of English shall manure the ground,
And future ages groan for this foul act;
Peace shall go sleep with Turks and infidels,
And in this seat of peace tumultuous wars 140
Shall kin with kin and kind with kind confound;
Disorder, horror, fear and mutiny

Shall here inhabit, and this land be call'd
The field of Golgotha and dead men's skulls.
O, if you raise this house against this house, 145
It will the wofullest division prove
That ever fell upon this cursed earth.
Prevent it, resist it, let it not be so,
Lest child, child's children, cry against you "woe!"

North. Well have you argued, sir; and, for your pains,
Of capital treason we arrest you here. 151
My Lord of Westminster, be it your charge
'To keep him safely till his day of trial.

May it please you, lords, to grant the commons' suit,
Bolingbroke. Fetch hither Richard, that in common view
He may surrender; so we shall proceed 156
Without suspicion.

York. I will be his conduct. [*Exit.*]

Bolingbroke. Lords, you that here are under our arrest,
Procure your sureties for your days of answer.
Little are we beholding to your love, 160
And little look'd for at your helping hands.

Re-enter YORK, with King RICHARD, and Officers bearing the crown, &c.

K. Richard. Alack, why am I sent for to a king,
Before I have shook off the regal thoughts
Wherewith I reign'd? I hardly yet have learn'd
To insinuate, flatter, bow, and bend my knee: 165
Give sorrow leave awhile to tutor me
To this submission. Yet I well remember
The favours of these men: were they not mine?
Did they not sometime cry "All hail!" to me?
So Judas did to Christ: but he, in twelve, 170

Found truth in all but one; I, in twelve thousand, none.
God save the king! Will no man say amen?

Am I both priest and clerk? well then, amen.

God save the king! although I be not he;

And yet, amen, if heaven do think him me. 175

To do what service am I sent for hither?

York. To do that office of thine own good will
Which tired majesty did make thee offer,—

The resignation of thy state and crown

To Henry Bolingbroke. 180

✓ *K. Richard.* Give me the crown. Here, cousin, seize
the crown;

Here cousin;

On this side my hand, and on that side yours.

Now is this golden crown like a deep well

That owes two buckets, filling one another; 185

The emptier ever dancing in the air,

The other down, unseen and full of water:

That bucket down and full of tears am I,

Drinking my griefs, whilst you mount up on high.

Boling. I thought you had been willing to resign. 190

K. Rich. My crown I am; but still my griefs are mine:
You may my glories and my state depose,

But not my griefs; still am I king of those.

Boling. Part of your cares you give me with your crown.

K. Rich. Your cares set up do not pluck my cares down.
My care is loss of care, by old care done; 196

Your care is gain of care, by new care won:

The cares I give I have, though given away;

They tend the crown, yet still with me they stay.

Boling. Are you contented to resign the crown? 200

K. Richard. Ay, no; no, ay; for I must nothing be;
Therefore no no, for I resign to thee.

Now mark me, how I will undo myself:
I give this heavy weight from off my head,
And this unwieldy sceptre from my hand, 205
The pride of kingly sway from out my heart;
With mine own tears I wash away my balm,
With mine own hands I give away my crown,
With mine own tongue deny my sacred state,
With mine own breath release all duty's rites: 210
All pomp and majesty I do forswear;
My manors, rents, revenues I forgo;
My acts, decrees, and statutes I deny:
God pardon all oaths that are broke to me!
God keep all vows unbroke that swear to thee! 215
Make me, that nothing have, with nothing grieved,
And thou with all pleased, that hast all achieved!
Long mayst thou live in Richard's seat to sit,
And soon lie Richard in an earthy pit!
God save King Henry, unking'd Richard says, 220
And send him many years of sunshine days!
What more remains?

Northumberland. No more, but that you read

[*Offering a paper.*]

These accusations and these grievous crimes
Committed by your person and your followers
Against the state and profit of this land; 225
That, by confessing them, the souls of men
May deem that you are worthily deposed.

K. Richard. Must I do so? and must I ravel out
My weaved-up folly? Gentle Northumberland,
If thy offences were upon record, 230
Would it not shame thee in so fair a troop
To read a lecture of them? If thou wouldst,
There shouldst thou find one heinous article,

Containing the deposing of a king
And cracking the strong warrant of an oath, 235
Mark'd with a blot, damn'd in the book of heaven :
Nay, all of you that stand and look upon,
Whilst that my wretchedness doth bait myself,
Though some of you, with Pilate, wash your hands,
Showing an outward pity ; yet you Pilates 240
Have here deliver'd me to my sour cross,
And water cannot wash away your sin.

North. My lord, dispatch ; read o'er these articles.

K. Richard. Mine eyes are full of tears, I cannot see :
And yet salt water blinds them not so much 245
But they can see a sort of traitors here.
Nay, if I turn mine eyes upon myself,
I find myself a traitor with the rest ;
For I have given here my soul's consent
To undeck the pompous body of a king ; 250
Made glory base and sovereignty a slave,
Proud majesty a subject, state a peasant.

Northumberland. My lord,—

K. Rich. No lord of thine, thou haught insulting man,
Nor no man's lord ; I have no name, no title, 255
No, not that name was given me at the font,
But 'tis usurp'd : alack the heavy day,
That I have worn so many winters out,
And know not now what name to call myself !
O that I were a mockery king of snow, 260
Standing before the sun of Bolingbroke,
To melt myself away in water-drops !
Good king, great king, and yet not greatly good,
An if my word be sterling yet in England,
Let it command a mirror hither straight, 265
That it may show me what a face I have,

Since it is bankrupt of his majesty.

Bolingbroke. Go, some of you and fetch a looking-glass.

[*Exit an Attendant.*

North. Read o'er this paper while the glass doth come.

K. Rich. Fiend, thou torment'st me ere I come to hell!

Bolingbroke. Urge it no more, my Lord Northumberland.

North. The commons will not then be satisfied. 272

K. Richard. They shall be satisfied: I'll read enough,
When I do see the very book indeed
Where all my sins are writ, and that's myself. 275

Re-enter Attendant with a glass.

Give me the glass, and therein will I read.
No deeper wrinkles yet? hath sorrow struck
So many blows upon this face of mine,
And made no deeper wounds? O flattering glass,
Like to my followers in prosperity, 280
Thou dost beguile me! Was this face the face
That every day under his household roof
Did keep ten thousand men? was this the face
That, like the sun, did make beholders wink?
Was this the face that faced so many follies, 285
And was at last out-faced by Bolingbroke?
A brittle glory shineth in this face:
As brittle as the glory is the face;

[*Dashes the glass against the ground.*

For there it is, crack'd in a hundred shivers.
Mark, silent king, the moral of this sport,— 290
How soon my sorrow hath destroy'd my face.

Bolingbroke. The shadow of your sorrow hath destroy'd
The shadow of your face.

K. Richard. Say that again.
The shadow of my sorrow? ha! let's see:

Tis very true, my grief lies all within ; 295
And these external manners of laments
Are merely shadows to the unseen grief
That swells with silence in the tortured soul ;
There lies the substance : and I thank thee, king,
For thy great bounty, that not only givest 300
Me cause to wail, but teachest me the way
How to lament the cause. I'll beg one boon,
And then be gone and trouble you no more.
Shall I obtain it?

Bolingbroke. Name it, fair cousin.

K. Richard. "Fair cousin!" I am greater than a king :
For when I was a king, my flatterers 306
Were then but subjects ; being now a subject,
I have a king here to my flatterer.
Being so great, I have no need to beg.

Bolingbroke. Yet ask. 310

K. Richard. And shall I have?

Bolingbroke. You shall.

K. Richard. Then give me leave to go.

Bolingbroke. Whither? 314

K. Rich. Whither you will, so I were from your sights.

Bolingbroke. Go, some of you convey him to the Tower.

K. Richard. O, good! convey? conveyers are you all,
That rise thus nimbly by a true king's fall.

[*Exeunt King Richard, some Lords, and a Guard.*]

Boling. On Wednesday next we solemnly set down
Our coronation : lords, prepare yourselves. 320

[*Exeunt all except the Bishop of Carlisle, the
Abbot of Westminster, and Aumerle.*]

Abbot. A woeful pageant have we here beheld.

Carlisle. The woe's to come ; the children yet unborn
Shall feel this day as sharp to them as thorn.

Aumerle. You holy clergymen, is there no plot
To rid the realm of this pernicious blot? 325

Abbot. My lord,
Before I freely speak my mind herein,
You shall not only take the sacrament
To bury mine intents, but also to effect
Whatever I shall happen to devise. 330
I see your brows are full of discontent,
Your hearts of sorrow and your eyes of tears:
Come home with me to supper: I will lay
A plot shall show us all a merry day. [*Exeunt.*]

ACT V.

SCENE I. *London. A street leading to the Tower.*

Enter Queen and Ladies.

Queen. This way the king will come; this is the way
To Julius Cæsar's ill-erected tower,
To whose flint bosom my condemned lord
Is doom'd a prisoner by proud Bolingbroke:
Here let us rest, if this rebellious earth 5
Have any resting for her true king's queen.
But soft, but see, or rather do not see,
My fair rose wither: yet look up, behold,
That you in pity may dissolve to dew,
And wash him fresh again with true-love tears. 10

Enter King RICHARD and Guards.

Ah, thou, the model where old Troy did stand,
Thou map of honour, thou King Richard's tomb,
And not King Richard; thou most beauteous inn,
Why should hard-favour'd grief be lodged in thee,
When triumph is become an alehouse guest? 15

K. Richard. Join not with grief, fair woman, do not so,
To make my end too sudden: learn, good soul,
To think our former state a happy dream;
From which awaked, the truth of what we are
Shows us but this: I am sworn brother, sweet, 20
To grim Necessity, and he and I
Will keep a league till death. Hie thee to France,
And cloister thee in some religious house:
Our holy lives must win a new world's crown,
Which our profane hours here have stricken down. 25

Queen. What, is my Richard both in shape and mind
Transform'd and weaken'd? hath Bolingbroke deposed
Thine intellect? hath he been in thy heart?
The lion dying thrusteth forth his paw,
And wounds the earth, if nothing else, with rage 30
To be o'erpower'd; and wilt thou, pupil-like,
Take thy correction mildly, kiss the rod,
And fawn on rage with base humility,
Which art a lion and a king of beasts?

K. Rich. A king of beasts, indeed; if aught but beasts,
I had been still a happy king of men. 36
Good sometime queen, prepare thee hence for France:
Think I am dead, and that even here thou takest,
As from my death-bed, thy last living leave.
In winter's tedious nights sit by the fire 40
With good old folks, and let them tell thee tales

Of woeful ages long ago betid ;
And ere thou bid good-night, to quit their griefs,
Tell thou the lamentable tale of me,
And send the hearers weeping to their beds : 45
For why, the senseless brands will sympathise
The heavy accent of thy moving tongue,
And in compassion weep the fire out ;
And some will mourn in ashes, some coal-black,
For the deposing of a rightful king. 50

Enter NORTHUMBERLAND *attended.*

North. My lord, the mind of Bolingbroke is changed ;
You must to Pomfret, not unto the Tower.
And, Madam, there is order ta'en for you ;
With all swift speed you must away to France.

K. Richard. Northumberland, thou ladder wherewithal
The mounting Bolingbroke ascends my throne, 56
The time shall not be many hours of age
More than it is, ere foul sin gathering head
Shall break into corruption : thou shalt think,
Though he divide the realm and give thee half, 60
It is too little, helping him to all ;
And he shall think, that thou, which know'st the way
To plant unrightful kings, wilt know again,
Being ne'er so little urged, another way
To pluck him headlong from the usurped throne. 65
The love of wicked friends converts to fear ;
That fear to hate ; and hate turns one or both
To worthy danger and deserved death.

North. My guilt be on my head, and there an end.
Take leave and part ; for you must part forthwith. 70

K. Richard. Doubly divorced ! Bad men, ye violate
A twofold marriage,—'twixt my crown and me,

And then betwixt me and my married wife.
Let me unkind the oath 'twixt thee and me;
And yet not so, for with a kiss 'twas made. 75
Part us, Northumberland; I towards the north,
Where shivering cold and sickness pines the clime;
My wife to France,—from whence, set forth in pomp,
She came adorned hither like sweet May,
Sent back like Hallowmas or short'st of day. 80

Queen. And must we be divided? must we part?

K. Richard. Ay, hand from hand, my love, and heart
from heart.

Queen. Banish us both and send the king with me.

Northumberland. That were some love, but little policy.

Queen. Then whither he goes, thither let me go. 85

K. Richard. So two, together weeping, make one woe.
Weep thou for me in France, I for thee here;
Better far off than, near, be ne'er the near.
Go, count thy way with sighs; I mine with groans.

Queen. So longest way shall have the longest moans. 90

K. Richard. Twice for one step I'll groan, the way being
short,

And piece the way out with a heavy heart.

Come, come, in wooing sorrow let's be brief,

Since, wedding it, there is such length in grief:

One kiss shall stop our mouths, and dumbly part; 95

Thus give I mine, and thus take I thy heart. [*They kiss.*

Queen. Give me mine own again; 'twere no good part
To take on me to keep and kill thy heart. [*They kiss again.*
So, now I have mine own again, be gone,
That I may strive to kill it with a groan. 100

K. Richard. We make woe wanton with this fond delay:
Once more, adieu; the rest let sorrow say. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II. *The Duke of YORK'S palace.**Enter YORK and his Duchess.*

Duch. My lord, you told me you would tell the rest,
When weeping made you break the story off,
Of our two cousins coming into London.

York. Where did I leave?

Duchess. At that sad stop, my lord,
Where rude misgovern'd hands from windows' tops 5
Threw dust and rubbish on King Richard's head.

York. Then, as I said, the duke, great Bolingbroke,
Mounted upon a hot and fiery steed,
Which his aspiring rider seem'd to know,
With slow but stately pace kept on his course, 10
While all tongues cried "God save thee, Bolingbroke!"
You would have thought the very windows spake,
So many greedy looks of young and old
Through casements darted their desiring eyes
Upon his visage; and that all the walls 15
With painted imagery had said at once
"Jesu preserve thee! welcome, Bolingbroke!"
Whilst he, from one side to the other turning,
Bareheaded, lower than his proud steed's neck,
Bespake them thus,—“I thank you, countrymen:” 20
And thus still doing, thus he pass'd along.

Duch. Alas, poor Richard? where rode he the whilst?

York. As in a theatre, the eyes of men,
After a well-graced actor leaves the stage,
Are idly bent on him that enters next, 25
Thinking his prattle to be tedious;
Even so, or with much more contempt, men's eyes

Did scowl on Richard; no man cried "God save him!"
No joyful tongue gave him his welcome home:
But dust was thrown upon his sacred head; 30
Which with such gentle sorrow he shook off,
His face still combating with tears and smiles,
The badges of his grief and patience,
That had not God, for some strong purpose, steel'd
The hearts of men, they must perforce have melted, 35
And barbarism itself have pitied him.
But heaven hath a hand in these events,
To whose high will we bound our calm contents.
To Bolingbroke are we sworn subjects now,
Whose state and honour I for aye allow. 40

Duchess. Here comes my son Aumerle.

York.

Aumerle that was;

But that is lost for being Richard's friend,
And, madam, you must call him Rutland now:
I am in parliament pledge for his truth
And lasting fealty to the new-made king. 45

Enter AUMERLE.

Duch. Welcome, my son: who are the violets now
That strew the green lap of the new-come spring?

Aumerle. Madam, I know not, nor I greatly care not:
God knows I had as lief be none as one.

York. Well, bear you well in this new spring of time, 50
Lest you be cropp'd before you come to prime.

What news from Oxford? hold those justs and triumphs?

Aumerle. For aught I know, my lord, they do.

York. You will be there, I know.

Aumerle. If God prevent not, I purpose so. 55

York. What seal is that, that hangs without thy bosom?
Yea, look'st thou pale? let me see the writing.

Aum. My lord, 'tis nothing.

York. No matter, then, who sees it:
I will be satisfied; let me see the writing.

Aumerle. I do beseech your grace to pardon me: 60
It is a matter of small consequence,
Which for some reasons I would not have seen.

York. Which for some reasons, sir, I mean to see.
I fear, I fear,—

Duch. What should you fear? It is
Nothing but some bond that he is enter'd into 65
For gay apparel 'gainst the triumph day.

York. Bound to himself! what doth he with a bond
That he is bound to? Wife, thou art a fool.
Boy, let me see the writing.

Aum. I do beseech you, pardon me; I may not show it.

York. I will be satisfied: let me see it, I say. 71
[*Snatches it, and reads.*

Treason! foul treason! Villain! traitor! slave!

Duchess. What is the matter, my lord?

York. Ho! who is within there?

Enter a Servant.

Saddle my horse.

God for his mercy, what treachery is here! 75

Duchess. Why, what is it, my lord?

York. Give me my boots, I say; saddle my horse.
Now, by mine honour, by my life, my troth, [*Exit Servant.*
I will appeach the villain.

Duchess. What is the matter?

York. Peace, foolish woman. 80

Duchess. I will not peace. What is the matter, son?

Aumerle. Good mother, be content; it is no more
Than my poor life must answer.

Duchess. Thy life answer!

York. Bring me my boots: I will unto the king.

Re-enter Servant with boots.

Duch. Strike him, Aumerle. Poor boy, thou art amazed.

[*To the Servant*] Hence, villain! never more come in my sight. 86

York. Give me my boots, I say. [*Exit Servant.*

Duchess. Why, York, what wilt thou do?

Wilt thou not hide the trespass of thine own?

Have we more sons? or are we like to have? 90

And wilt thou pluck my fair son from mine age,

And rob me of a happy mother's name?

Is he not like thee? is he not thine own?

York. Thou fond mad woman,

Wilt thou conceal this dark conspiracy? 95

A dozen of them here have ta'en the sacrament,

And interchangeably set down their hands,

To kill the king at Oxford.

Duchess. He shall be none:

We'll keep him here: then what is that to him?

York. Away, fond woman! were he twenty times 100

My son, I would appeach him.

Duchess. Hadst thou groan'd for him

As I have done, thou'dst be more pitiful.

York. Make way, unruly woman! [*Exit.*

Duchess. After, Aumerle! mount thee upon his horse;

Spur post, and get before him to the king, 105

And beg thy pardon ere he do accuse thee.

I'll not be long behind; though I be old,

I doubt not but to ride as fast as York;

And never will I rise up from the ground 109

Till Bolingbroke have pardon'd thee. Away, be gone!

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE III. *Windsor. A room in the castle.*

Enter BOLINGBROKE as King, PERCY, and other Lords.

Bolingbroke. Can no man tell me of my unthrifty son?
'Tis full three months since I did see him last :
If any plague hang over us, 'tis he.
I would to God, my lords, he might be found :
Inquire at London, 'mongst the taverns there, 5
For there, they say, he daily doth frequent,
With unrestrained loose companions,
Even such, they say, as stand in narrow lanes,
And beat our watch, and rob our passengers ;
Which he, young wanton and effeminate boy, 10
Takes on the point of honour to support
So dissolute a crew.

Percy. My lord, some two days since I saw the prince,
And told him of those triumphs held at Oxford.

Bolingbroke. And what said the gallant? 15

Percy. His answer was,—
He'd from the common'st creature pluck a glove,
And wear it as a favour ; and with that
He would unhorse the lustiest challenger.

Boling. As dissolute as desperate ; yet through both 20
I see some sparks of better hope, which elder years
May happily bring forth. But who comes here?

Enter AUMERLE hastily.

Aumerle. Where is the king?

Boling. What means our cousin, that he stares and looks
So wildly? 25

Aum. God save your grace ! I do beseech your majesty,

To have some conference with your grace alone.

Boling. Withdraw yourselves, and leave us here alone.

[*Exeunt Percy and Lords.*]

What is the matter with our cousin now?

Aum. For ever may my knees grow to the earth, [*Kneels.*
My tongue cleave to the roof within my mouth, 31
Unless a pardon ere I rise or speak.

Bolingbroke. Intended or committed was this fault?

If on the first, how heinous e'er it be,

To win thy after-love I pardon thee. 35

Aum. Then give me leave that I may turn the key,
That no man enter till my tale be done.

Bolingbroke. Have thy desire. [*Aumerle locks the door.*]

York. [*Within*] My liege, beware; look to thyself;
Thou hast a traitor in thy presence there. 40

Bolingbroke. Villain, I'll make thee safe. [*Drawing.*]

Aumerle. Stay thy revengeful hand; thou hast no cause
to fear.

York. [*Within*] Open the door, secure, foolhardy king:
Shall I for love speak treason to thy face?

Open the door, or I will break it open. 45

[*Bolingbroke unlocks the door, and afterwards locks it again.*]

Enter YORK.

Bolingbroke. What is the matter, uncle? speak;
Recover breath; tell us how near is danger,
That we may arm us to encounter it.

York. Peruse this writing here, and thou shalt know
The treason that my haste forbids me show. 50

Aum. Remember, as thou read'st, thy promise pass'd:
I do repent me; read not my name there;
My heart is not confederate with my hand.

York. It was, villain, ere thy hand did set it down.

I tore it from the traitor's bosom, king ; 55
Fear, and not love, begets his penitence :
Forget to pity him, lest thy pity prove
A serpent that will sting thee to the heart.

Bolingbroke. O heinous, strong and bold conspiracy !
O loyal father of a treacherous son ! 60
Thou sheer, immaculate and silver fountain,
From whence this stream through muddy passages
Hath held his current and defiled himself !
Thy overflow of good converts to bad ;
And thy abundant goodness shall excuse 65
This deadly blot in thy digressing son.

York. So shall my virtue be his vice's guard ;
And he shall spend mine honour with his shame,
As thriftless sons their scraping fathers' gold.
Mine honour lives when his dishonour dies, 70
Or my shamed life in his dishonour lies :
Thou kill'st me in his life ; giving him breath,
The traitor lives, the true man's put to death.

Duchess. [*Within*] What ho, my liege ! for God's sake,
let me in.

Bolingbroke. What shrill-voiced suppliant makes this
eager cry ? 75

Duchess. A woman, and thy aunt, great king ; 'tis I.
Speak with me, pity me, open the door :
A beggar begs that never begg'd before.

Bolingbroke. Our scene is alter'd from a serious thing,
And now changed to "The Beggar and the King." 80
My dangerous cousin, let your mother in :
I know she is come to pray for your foul sin.

[*Aumerle unlocks the door.*]

York. If thou do pardon, whosoever pray,
More sins for this forgiveness prosper may.

This fester'd joint cut off, the rest rest sound ; 85
This let alone will all the rest confound.

Enter Duchess.

Duchess. O king, believe not this hard-hearted man !
Love loving not itself none other can.

York. Thou frantic woman, what dost thou make here ?
Shall thy old breast once more a traitor rear ? 90

Duchess. Sweet York, be patient. Hear me, gentle
liege. [Kneels.

Boling. Rise up, good aunt.

Duchess. Not yet, I thee beseech :
For ever will I walk upon my knees,
And never see day that the happy sees,
Till thou give joy ; until thou bid me joy, 95
By pardoning Rutland, my transgressing boy.

Aumerle. Unto my mother's prayers I bend my knee.
[Kneels.

York. Against them both my true joints bended be.
[Kneels.

Ill mayst thou thrive, if thou grant any grace !

Duchess. Pleads he in earnest ? look upon his face ;
His eyes do drop no tears, his prayers are in jest : 101
His words come from his mouth, ours from our breast :
He prays but faintly, and would be denied ;
We pray with heart and soul and all beside :
His weary joints would gladly rise, I know ; 105
Our knees shall kneel till to the ground they grow :
His prayers are full of false hypocrisy ;
Ours of true zeal and deep integrity.
Our prayers do out-pray his ; then let them have
That mercy which true prayer ought to have. 110

Boling. Good aunt, stand up.

Duchess. Nay, do not say "stand up;"
But "pardon" first, and afterwards "stand up."
An if I were thy nurse, thy tongue to teach,
"Pardon" should be the first word of thy speech.
I never long'd to hear a word till now; 115
Say "pardon," king; let pity teach thee how:
The word is short, but not so short as sweet;
No word like "pardon" for kings' mouths so meet.

York. Speak it in French, king; say, "*pardonne moi.*"

Duchess. Dost thou teach pardon pardon to destroy?
Ah, my sour husband, my hard-hearted lord, 121
That set'st the word itself against the word!
Speak "pardon" as 'tis current in our land;
The chopping French we do not understand.
Thine eye begins to speak, set thy tongue there: 125
Or in thy piteous heart plant thou thine ear;
That hearing how our plaints and prayers do pierce,
Pity may move thee "pardon" to rehearse.

Boling. Good aunt, stand up.

Duchess. I do not sue to stand;
Pardon is all the suit I have in hand. 130

Boling. I pardon him, as God shall pardon me.

Duchess. O happy vantage of a kneeling knee!
Yet am I sick for fear: speak it again;
Twice saying "pardon" doth not pardon twain,
But makes one pardon strong.

Bolingbroke. With all my heart 135
I pardon him.

Duchess. A god on earth thou art.

Boling. But for our trusty brother-in-law, and the abbot,
With all the rest of that consorted crew,
Destruction straight shall dog them at the heels.
Good uncle, help to order several powers 140

To Oxford, or where'er these traitors are :
They shall not live within this world, I swear,
But I will have them, if I once know where.
Uncle, farewell : and, cousin mine, adieu :
Your mother well hath pray'd, and prove you true. 145
Duch. Come, my old son : I pray God make thee new.
[*Excunt.*

SCENE IV. *Another room in the same.*

Enter Sir PIERCE OF EXTON *and a* Servant.

Exton. Didst thou not mark the king, what words he
spake,
"Have I no friend will rid me of this living fear?"
Was it not so?

Servant. These were his very words.

Exton. "Have I no friend?" quoth he : he spake it
twice,
And urged it twice together, did he not? 5

Servant. He did.

Exton. And speaking it, he wistly look'd on me ;
As who should say, "I would thou wert the man
That would divorce this terror from my heart,"—
Meaning the king at Pomfret. Come, let's go : 10
I am the king's friend, and will rid his foe. [*Excunt.*

SCENE V. *Pomfret. A dungeon in the castle.*

Enter King RICHARD.

K. Richard. I have been studying how I may compare
This prison where I live unto the world :
And for because the world is populous

And here is not a creature but myself,
I cannot do it; yet I'll hammer it out. 5
My brain I'll prove the female to my soul,
My soul the father: and these two beget
A generation of still-breeding thoughts,
And these same thoughts people this little world;
In humours like the people of this world, 10
For no thought is contented. The better sort,
As thoughts of things divine, are intermix'd
With scruples, and do set the word itself
Against the word:
As thus, "Come, little ones"; and then again, 15
"It is as hard to come as for a camel
To thread the postern of a small needle's eye."
Thoughts tending to ambition, they do plot
Unlikely wonders; how these vain weak nails
May tear a passage through the flinty ribs 20
Of this hard world, my ragged prison-walls;
And, for they cannot, die in their own pride.
Thoughts tending to content flatter themselves
That they are not the first of fortune's slaves,
Nor shall not be the last; like silly beggars, 25
Who sitting in the stocks refuge their shame,
That many have and others must sit there;
And in this thought they find a kind of ease,
Bearing their own misfortunes on the back
Of such as have before endured the like. 30
Thus play I in one person many people,
And none contented: sometimes am I king;
Then treasons make me wish myself a beggar,
And so I am: then crushing penury
Persuades me I was better when a king; 35
Then am I king'd again: and by and by

Think that I am unking'd by Bolingbroke,
And straight am nothing: but whate'er I be,
Nor I, nor any man that but man is,
With nothing shall be pleased, till he be eased 40
With being nothing. Music do I hear? [Music.
Ha, ha! keep time: how sour sweet music is,
When time is broke and no proportion kept!
So is it in the music of men's lives.
And here have I the daintiness of ear 45
To check time broke in a disorder'd string;
But for the concord of my state and time
Had not an ear to hear my true time broke.
I wasted time, and now doth time waste me;
For now hath time made me his numbering clock: 50
My thoughts are minutes; and with sighs they jar
Their watches on unto mine eyes, the outward watch,
Whereto my finger, like a dial's point,
Is pointing still, in cleansing them from tears.
Now, sir, the sound that tells what hour it is 55
Are clamorous groans, that strike upon my heart,
Which is the bell: so sighs and tears and groans
Show minutes, times, and hours: but my time
Runs posting on in Bolingbroke's proud joy,
While I stand fooling here, his Jack o' the clock. 60
This music mads me; let it sound no more;
For though it have help madmen to their wits,
In me it seems it will make wise men mad.
Yet, blessing on his heart that gives it me!
For 'tis a sign of love; and love to Richard 65
Is a strange brooch in this all-hating world.

Enter Groom.

Groom. Hail, royal prince!

K. Richard. Thanks, noble peer;
The cheapest of us is ten groats too dear.
What art thou? and how comest thou hither,
Where no man ever comes but that sad dog 70
That brings me food to make misfortune live?

Groom. I was a poor groom of thy stable, king,
When thou wert king; who, travelling towards York,
With much ado at length have gotten leave
To look upon my sometimes royal master's face. 75
O, how it yearn'd my heart when I beheld
In London streets, that coronation-day,
When Bolingbroke rode on roan Barbary,
That horse that thou so often hast bestrid,
That horse that I so carefully have dressed! 80

K. Rich. Rode he on Barbary? Tell me, gentle friend,
How went he under him?

Groom. So proudly as if he disdain'd the ground.

K. Rich. So proud that Bolingbroke was on his back!
That jade hath eat bread from my royal hand; 85
This hand hath made him proud with clapping him.
Would he not stumble? would he not fall down,
Since pride must have a fall, and break the neck
Of that proud man that did usurp his back?
Forgiveness, horse! why do I rail on thee, 90
Since thou, created to be awed by man,
Wast born to bear? I was not made a horse;
And yet I bear a burden like an ass,
Spurr'd, gall'd and tired by jauncing Bolingbroke.

Enter Keeper with a dish.

Keeper. [To the Groom] Fellow, give place; here is no longer stay. 95

K. Rich. If thou love me, 'tis time thou wert away.

Groom. What my tongue dares not, that my heart shall say. [Exit.]

Keeper. My lord, will't please you to fall to?

K. Rich. Taste of it first, as thou art wont to do. 99

Keeper. My lord, I dare not. Sir Pierce of Exton, who lately came from the king, commands the contrary.

K. Rich. The devil take Henry of Lancaster and thee! Patience is stale, and I am weary of it. [Beats the Keeper.]

Keeper. Help, help, help!

Enter Sir PIERCE of Exton and Servants armed.

K. Richard. How now! what means death in this rude assault? 105

Villain, thy own hand yields thy death's instrument.

[Snatching a weapon, and killing a Servant.]
Go thou, and fill another room in hell.

[He kills another Servant. Then Exton strikes him down.]

That hand shall burn in never-quenching fire

That staggers thus my person. Exton, thy fierce hand

Hath with the king's blood stain'd the king's own land. 110

Mount, mount, my soul! thy seat is up on high;

Whilst my gross flesh sinks downward, here to die. [Dies.]

Exton. As full of valour as of royal blood:

Both have I spilt; O, would the deed were good!

For now the devil, that told me I did well, 115

Says that this deed is chronicled in hell.

This dead king to the living king I'll bear:

Take hence the rest, and give them burial here. [Exeunt.]

SCENE VI. *Windsor. A room in the castle.*

Flourish. Enter BOLINGBROKE, YORK, Lords, and Attendants.

Boling. Kind uncle York, the latest news we hear
Is that the rebels have consumed with fire
Our town of Cicester in Gloustershire;
But whether they be ta'en or slain we hear not.

Enter NORTHUMBERLAND.

Welcome, my lord: what is the news? 5

North. First, to thy sacred state wish I all happiness.
The next news is, I have to London sent
The heads of Salisbury, Spencer, Blunt, and Kent:
The manner of their taking may appear
At large discoursed in this paper here. [*Presenting a paper.*

Boling. We thank thee, gentle Percy, for thy pains; 11
And to thy worth will add right worthy gains.

Enter FITZWATER.

Fitz. My lord, I have from Oxford sent to London
The heads of Brocas and Sir Bennet Sceley,
Two of the dangerous consorted traitors 15
That sought at Oxford thy dire overthrow.

Boling. Thy pains, Fitzwater, shall not be forgot;
Right noble is thy merit, well I wot.

Enter PERCY, with the Bishop of Carlisle.

Percy. The grand conspirator, Abbot of Westminster,
With clog of conscience and sour melancholy, 20
Hath yielded up his body to the grave;
But here is Carlisle living, to abide

Thy kingly doom and sentence of his pride.

Boling. Carlisle, this is your doom:

Choose out some secret place, some reverend room, 25
More than thou hast, and with it joy thy life;
So as thou livest in peace, die free from strife:
For though mine enemy thou hast ever been,
High sparks of honour in thee have I seen.

Enter Sir PIERCE OF EXTON, *with* Attendants
bearing a coffin.

Exton. Great king, within this coffin I present 30
Thy buried fear: herein all breathless lies
The mightiest of thy greatest enemies,
Richard of Bordeaux, by me hither brought.

Boling. Exton, I thank thee not; for thou hast wrought
A deed of slander with thy fatal hand 35
Upon my head and all this famous land.

Exton. From your own mouth, my lord, did I this deed.

Boling. They love not poison that do poison need,
Nor do I thee: though I did wish him dead,
I hate the murderer, love him murdered. 40
The guilt of conscience take thou for thy labour,
But neither my good word nor princely favour:
With Cain go wander thorough shades of night,
And never show thy head by day nor light.
Lords, I protest, my soul is full of woe 45
That blood should sprinkle me to make me grow:
Come, mourn with me for that I do lament,
And put on sullen black incontinent:
I'll make a voyage to the Holy Land,
To wash this blood off from my guilty hand: 50
March sadly after; grace my mournings here,
In weeping after this untimely bier. [Exit.

NOTES.

G.= *Glossary*. Several other abbreviations used sometimes in the *Notes* are explained at the beginning of the *Glossary*, in which they occur more frequently. They should be observed; see p. 181.

By "the 1st Folio" is meant the 1st Folio Edition of Shakespeare's plays, published in 1623.

ACT I.

Scene 1.

The great feature of the play is the contrast between Richard "the sentimentalist" and Bolingbroke "the iron-willed man of action." This contrast is thrown into relief by the quarrel between the two dukes, which is made the starting-point of the action of the drama. The cause of the quarrel was the charge made by Bolingbroke against Mowbray on January 30th, 1398, before the Parliament at Shrewsbury, viz. that Mowbray had said that the king intended to destroy both Hereford and his father, Gaunt; and that when Hereford mentioned the pardon which the king had just granted him anew for the part he had taken as one of the five Lords Appellant, Mowbray had replied that the king was not to be believed on his oath—*Stubbs*. The matter had been referred to a 'court of chivalry' held at Windsor in the following April (29th). At this point the play opens. See **Extracts 1 and 2** from *Holinshed*, and observe the first note on Act IV. (p. 159).

1. *time-honour'd*, venerable; he was only 58, and his brother York 57, but Shakespeare represents both as very old men, in contrast with the king's "youth" (II. I. 69). See p. 218.

2. *band*=*bond* (another form). Gaunt (with York and Aumerle)

had become surety that Bolingbroke would appear and maintain his charge against Mowbray. Cf. IV. 1. 159.

3. *Hereford*; spelt *Herford* in the original editions, and so to be pronounced as a dissyllable. He was made a duke in 1397, and took the title *Hereford* because he had married the daughter and co-heiress of Humphrey de Bohun, last Earl of Hereford. The name *Bolingbroke* (strictly 'Henry of Bolingbroke') came from the castle of that name, near Spilsby, in Lincolnshire, where he was born.

4. *appeal*=impeachment of treason (in legal language) i.e. charge of.

5. *our*. Richard, with his sense of the majesty of kings, is particular on great occasions in his use of the regal "we," "our."

9. *on ancient malice*, because of a long standing personal enmity between them. *on*=on the ground of, in consequence of.

12. *on that argument*, in that matter. *argument*; see G.

13. *some apparent danger*, some manifest cause of danger. Understand *he appeals the duke* from 9. *apparent*; see G.

15—19. The very apt heading of the chapter (xvi.) in *Kenilworth* where Leicester and Sussex meet before Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich.

18. *High-stomach'd*, proud, haughty. Cf. "Whoso hath a proud look and high stomach," *Psalm* ci. 7, Prayer-Book. The common figurative uses of *stomach* in Shakespeare are 'inclination,' 'anger' (=Lat. *stomachus*), 'stubborn courage.'

19. i.e. when angry they are as deaf to remonstrances as the sea itself. Cf. *King John*, II. 451, "The sea enraged is not half so deaf."

20. So the Quartos and Folios. Some would read "*May* many years" etc. But the omission of a syllable at the beginning of a line before a strongly stressed or accented syllable is a recognised variation of the normal blank verse. Cf. the licence which Chaucer sometimes allows himself of making *one* syllable stand for the first foot—thus "Twén|ty bok|es, clad | in blak | or reed" (*The Prologue*, 294). Here the strong emphasis on *má|ny* is increased by the inclination of respect with which Bolingbroke salutes the king; so that the first syllable is *in sound* equivalent to two. Some, however, take *years* as a dissyllable.

23. Some scan *envy|ing*, making *heavens* one syllable, but it may be taken as two, and the line scanned "Until | the hea|vens, én|v(y)ing earth's | good hap." For *envy* cf. *The Taming of the Shrew*, II. 1. 18, "Is it for him you do envý me so?"

24. *an immortal title*; perhaps=a title of, i.e. claim to, immortality.

26. *come*, i.e. come on; the cause for which you come.

28. *thou*; the language of affection between members of a family; changed to the formal *you* (186) when Richard is displeased.

30. *the record to*, the witness to.

31—33. He emphasises his motives by putting them first, as if to show that *he* is not the one who “but flatters” (25) Richard.

32. *Tendering*, holding dear, solicitous about.

33. *other misbegotten hate*, i.e. hatred having an unworthy origin in personal “malice” (9). It is only as a loyal subject that he hates the disloyal Mowbray.

38. *answer*, answer for.

39. *miscreant*, a vile wretch; see G.

40. *Too good*, i.e. in birth and position. Treachery in so great a noble is like a black cloud thrown into relief by a clear sky. *crystal*, clear as crystal, bright.

43. *to aggravate the note*, to increase the insult. *note*, stigma, disgrace. Cf. *Julius Caesar*, IV. 3. 2, “You have condemn’d and noted Lucius Pella,” i.e. stigmatised, dishonoured; the sense of Lat. *notare*, ‘to brand with a mark of censure’ (*nota*). The *nota censoria* was a kind of public disgrace inflicted by the Censors at Rome.

44. *stuff I thy throat*; so we speak of forcing someone to ‘swallow an insult’—a natural figure of speech to suggest what is repulsive, distasteful.

45. *so please*, provided that it please; an impersonal construction.

46. *right-drawn*, drawn in a just cause.

47. *accuse*, call in question, cast doubt upon. He begins in a cooler style than Bolingbroke: but coolness is not a sign that he does not feel strongly. Note the bitterly contemptuous effect of the alliteration, especially *c...c* in 47—51.

50. *can*, i.e. *which can*. Omission of the relative pronoun where the sense is not obscured thereby is one of the commonest of Shakespearian ellipses. See p. 236. *arbitrate*, decide, like the *arbiter* or umpire in a trial of arms. Cf. 200.

54. *reverence of*, respect for. Bolingbroke is Richard’s first cousin, and Mowbray says that he hesitates to speak freely of one so nearly related to the king.

56. *post*, hasten, like a mounted post or messenger; cf. *post-haste*. It continues the metaphor in “giving reins and spurs” (55).

57. *These terms of treason*, these words “traitor” and “miscreant” (39). *doubled*, i.e. twice as strong, twice as insulting.

59. *And let him be*, and assuming for the moment that he is not.

62. *Which*, i.e. the charge that Bolingbroke is a "coward and villain"; cf. 145. *odds*, an advantage.

63. *tied*, bound (the same metaphor).

65. *inhabitable*, not habitable=Lat. *inhabitabilis*; the Latin prefix *in-*, cognate with Gk. *av-*, English *un-*, has the sense 'not,' as in *insensible*, *impossible*, etc. Steevens refers to Ben Jonson's *Catiline*, V. 1. 74:

"some inhabitable place,

Where the hot sun and slime breeds nought but monsters."

67. *this*, i.e. statement, viz. that Bolingbroke lies.

69—72. Note how he retorts scornfully the points of Mowbray's speech in the latter's own words; 69 being a reply to 47, 70 to 59, 71 to 58, 72 to 54.

69. *gage*, pledge, i.e. his iron glove, the usual gauntlet (F. *gant*, a glove) which a knight flung down as a sign of challenge; to "take it up" (74) was to accept the challenge. Cf. IV. 1. 25, and *King Lear*, IV. 6. 90, 91, "There's my gauntlet; I'll prove it on a giant."

70. *Disclaiming*, renouncing.

72. *except*, take exception, object to. He accuses Mowbray of wishing to make his (Bolingbroke's) kinship with the king an excuse for not fighting.

73. *have*; subjunctive implying doubt, and so increasing the scorn of the remark.

74. *honour's pawn*; evidently a phrase peculiar to such occasions; cf. IV. 1. 55, 56. *pawn*, pledge="gage" in 69; see G.

75. *all the rites of knighthood else*, all other usages of chivalry in reference to Trial by Combat.

76, 77. i.e. I will make good these charges or any more insulting charges against yourself that you can think of. The 1st Folio omits *worse* and reads *spoken*.

78, 79. The recipient of a knighthood knelt and the sovereign touched him on the shoulder with a sword as he spoke the words "Arise, Sir —." Such was the process of "dubbing" a knight.

80. *answer thee*, give you satisfaction. *in any fair degree*, "to any length that is compatible with the honour of knighthood"—*Schmidt*.

82. *light*, alight from my horse, dismount.

83. *unjustly*, in a bad cause; cf. 46 and I. 3. 10.

84. The king brings them to the point after all these preliminaries: what is Bolingbroke's charge against Mowbray?

85. *inherit*, cause us to entertain, make us have; see G.

88. A *noble* was a gold coin worth 6s. 8d.; cf. v. 5. 67.

89. *lendings*; money advanced and held in trust for the benefit of others, i.e. the soldiers at Calais; cf. 126, 127.

90. *The which*; cf. F. *lequel*. Often in Shakespeare, and sometimes rather more formal and suggestive of a legal document or contract than the simple relative. Cf. *The Merchant of Venice*, I. 3. 1—5, "Three thousand ducats...For the which, as I told you, Antonio shall be bound." See again 172. *lewd*, base; see G.

91. *injurious*, pernicious.

93. *to*, i.e. having gone. Here again he takes up Mowbray's words; cf. 63—65.

95. *these eighteen years*; "that is, since the insurrection of Wat Tyler, in 1381"—*Rolfe*.

96. *Complotted*, plotted; a favorite Elizabethan word. Cf. I. 3. 189; *Richard III.* III. 1. 192.

97. *Fetch*, derive; the metaphor of drawing water from a fountain "head."

98. *maintain*, undertake.

100. *the Duke of Gloucester*; Thomas of Woodstock (cf. I. 2. 1), youngest son of Edward III.; he died in the custody of Mowbray (then Earl of Nottingham) at Calais in the previous year, 1397. "The blame of Gloucester's death or murder was laid on the king. It is not clear that he was murdered; if he was, the guilt must be shared between Richard and the Earl of Nottingham"—*Stubbs*. In the next scene (37—39) and in II. 1. 124—131 Gaunt plainly lays the guilt on Richard, in accordance with the current view. Here Bolingbroke is really attacking Richard himself and playing upon the strong feeling which the supposed murder had roused against Richard.

101. *Suggest*, tempt to do the deed, incite. See III. 4. 75, and cf. the noun=temptation, e.g. in *Macbeth*, I. 3. 134, "why do I yield to that suggestion?" *soon-believing*, quick to credit what Mowbray said against Gloucester.

102. *consequently*, accordingly, in pursuance of his plot.

103. The hurried rhythm due to the inverted stress (*Slid'd out*) is meant to echo the sense. *Sluiced*; see G.

104. Cf. *Macbeth*, III. 4. 122—126. *sacrificing*; *Genesis* IV. 4.

106. *me*; with strong emphasis, from its position. Again Bolingbroke is covertly reproaching Richard: *he*, Gloucester's nephew, will avenge the murder, since the guilty king does not.

109. *pitch*; a term in falconry for the height to which a hawk "soars." Cf. I *Henry VI.* II. 4. 11, "Between two hawks, which flies the higher pitch..."

"The higher she will go, the more ground she will cover below her [i.e. in spying out game], and the swifter and more irresistible is her stoop or descent." See *Shakespeare's England*, 1916, II. 360 ("Falconry").

Shakespeare uses many terms drawn from falconry, which was the favourite sport of the Elizabethans. See I. 3. 61, 62; II. 1. 292.

111, 112. Bolingbroke still hesitates to speak his opinion of Bolingbroke freely in the king's presence.

113. i.e. this man who is a disgrace to his royal race.

slander = 'slanderer,' in the sense 'one who brings reproach upon, who dishonours;' abstract for concrete.

115. *eyes...ears*; replying to Bolingbroke's words in 111, 112.

116. *ay, my kingdom's heir*. Spoken with emphasis ('*even* if he were'), and the emphasis would draw the attention of Shakespeare's audience to the "irony" of the situation. For they knew that Bolingbroke *was* destined to be something more than Richard's "heir." Historically, the heir to the throne was Roger Mortimer, who had been so declared in 1385, Richard having no children. Next in the line came Bolingbroke.

Commonly, dramatic "irony" depends upon the audience knowing some fact which is unknown to the characters. Shakespeare dramatising history was to some extent in the same position as Æschylus or Sophocles dramatising well-known legends.

119. *sacred*. Here first Richard sounds that note which rings so often and so clearly in his speeches—the divine right of kings. To the responsibilities and duties which this right lays upon him he is blind.

120. *partialize*, cause to act with partiality.

121. A stilted style of verse (note the use of two adjectives) which is common in Shakespeare's early "end-stopped" blank verse.

124, 125. i.e. he thrusts the charge "thou liest" down Bolingbroke's throat, makes him "swallow" it (132). Cf. 44.

126. *receipt*, money received. *for Calais*, i.e. to spend in his capacity as governor of Calais.

128. *by consent*, by agreement with the king.

129. *For that*, because; cf. II. 1. 125. Shakespeare uses *for* as a conjunction = 'because,' and the *that* strengthens it. So we find 'though *that*,' 'if *that*' (II. 3. 123), 'lest *that*,' 'when *that*,' etc. There may be an ellipsis, e.g. 'if *it is the case* that.'

130. i.e. as part of the balance of a heavy (or pressing) debt. *dear*; see G. Mowbray had been sent to France in 1395 with the Earl of Rutland (Aumerle in this play) to propose a marriage between Richard whose first wife died in 1394, and Isabel (the Queen who appears later), daughter of Charles VI. Richard married her in 1396. See v. 1. 78—80. She was a child ten years of age, and the marriage was merely designed to bring about a truce with France. Mowbray might well speak of "a dear account," since the embassy cost 300,000 marks—*Stubbs*.

132. *For*, as for.

134. The line is thought to refer to Holinshed's statement that Mowbray delayed carrying out Richard's command "to make the duke [Gloucester] secretly away."

140. *exactly*, expressly; or perhaps 'in the fullest manner,' meaning that he did not spare himself in making confession and asking pardon.

142. *appealed*, brought as an impeachment against me.

144. *recrunt*; see G. *degenerate*, i.e. unworthy of his race (Lat. *genus*); the same idea as in 113.

145. *Which*; cf. 62. *in myself*, i.e. in my own person.

146. *interchangeably*, i.e. in reply to Bolingbroke's challenge (69).

150. *In haste whereof*; to hasten which proof.

153. *choler*, anger; with quibbling reference to its other sense, 'bile.' *letting*; cf. *Julius Caesar*, III. 1. 152, "Who else must be let blood, who else is rank" (i.e. too full of blood). Originally 'let forth.'

155. *makes too deep incision*, cuts too deep; a continuation of the metaphor drawn from the old practice of "bleeding" (157) a patient in illnesses like fevers. See 2 *Henry IV.* IV. 1. 54—58.

156. *conclude*, come to terms, settle the matter.

157. In "the almanacs of the time particular seasons were pointed out as the most proper time for being bled"—*Malone*. The seasons were spring and autumn, and historically the time of this scene was "a month to bleed," viz. April.

162. *When...when*; an exclamation of impatience. Cf. *Julius Caesar*, II. 1. 5, where Brutus rouses his servant, "When, Lucius, when? awake, I say! what Lucius!"

164. *no boot*, no use in delay or refusal. *boot*; see G.

165. *Myself*; emphatic: he will "throw down" himself (of course he kneels) but not Bolingbroke's gage, as Richard commanded.

167, 168. i.e. my name which lives upon my tomb despite of

death. The inversion (surely, rather awkward) of the natural order of the words illustrates the difficulties which the use of rhyme imposes.

169. i.e. you may dispose of my life as you please, but you shall not dispose of my good name in any dishonourable way.

170. *baffled*; then a very strong word = utterly disgraced; peculiar to the code of chivalry, hence very appropriate to the context. See G.

172, 173. *The which*; cf. 90. *balm*; see G. *his heart-blood Which*, the heart-blood of him who uttered these venomous charges. The antecedent of *Which* (= who, see p. 235) is contained in *his*.

174. *leopards*. "The Norfolk crest was a golden leopard"—*Malone*. Of course *lions* alludes to the lions borne in the royal arms of England. Cf. 1 *Henry VI.* i. 5. 27, 28:

"Hark, countrymen! either renew the fight,

Or tear the lions out of England's coat" (i.e. of arms).

175. Referring to the verse in *Jeremiah* xiii. 23, which has become proverbial: "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard *his* spots?" Hence "*his* spots" here, though *their* (as Pope read) might be expected after *lions* in 174. Mowbray means, 'you cannot rob me of my instinct to defend my good name.'

take but my shame, first take away the disgrace (170) brought upon me by these charges, then I will give up this gage (Bolingbroke's).

177—179. Cf. the lines on "good name" in *Othello*, III. 3. 155—161.

177. *mortal times*, human existence.

182. *both grow in one*; like two branches rising from one stem; cf. I. 2. 13.

184. *dear my liege*; the adjective is often transposed thus (perhaps to give emphasis to it) in short phrases of address; cf. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, I. 3. 13, "Do so, good mine host."

try, put to the trial, i.e. of Single Combat.

186. *your*, which you are holding, i.e. Mowbray's.

187. *O God*; so the Quartos. "In obedience to the Act [of James I., forbidding profanity on the stage] the Folio here and elsewhere [I. 2. 37, 43] throughout the play substitutes *heaven* for God"—*Staunton*. Sometimes *Jove* was substituted.

189. *beggar-fear*, fear such as befits a miserable beggar.

impeach my height, bring discredit upon my noble name and rank.

190. *outdared*, frightened, cowed. *dastard*; see G.

191. *feeble wrong*, the wrong of speaking in so feeble, craven a tone.

192. *sound...a parle*; the metaphor of asking for a truce by note of trumpet; cf. III. 3. 33. *parle*=*parley*.

193. *motive*, instrument, i.e. the tongue, the motive instrument by which fear is expressed.

194, 195. *his*, Mowbray's. *harbour*, dwell.

196—205. Richard's action here is the *index* to his character throughout. His weakness is revealed. Meeting determined resistance he yields; yet makes a barren assertion of his royal power but shrinks from putting it to the test. It is Bolingbroke whom he fears to offend. "There is no more decisive test of a king's quality than his method of dealing with the great subjects who stand nearest to the throne"—*Bous.* Note that Mowbray was Richard's friend (2 *Hen. IV.* IV. 1. 115).

198. *answer it*, i.e. pay for the offence of not appearing.

199. *Saint Lambert's day*; September 17.

202. *atone*, reconcile; see G.

203. *design the victor's chivalry*; "designate, by the result of the contest, the true knight"—*Rolfe*. *design*; in its original sense 'to mark out' (Lat. *designare*) as in the design of a pattern.

204. Some would omit *Lord*, but *marshal* can be slurred practically into one syllable, *marshl*. Mowbray himself was really the Earl Marshal, but Richard appointed the Duke of Surrey to act as his deputy on that occasion.

205. *these home alarms*; in distinction from the troubles outside England, i.e. the Irish rebellion of which we hear later.

Scene 2.

The scene helps to fill the interval between Scene 1 (April) and Scene 3 (September), satisfying the imagination with the necessary sense of the lapse of time before Scene 3 begins. Evidently it takes place not long before the Trial by Combat at Coventry; cf. 45, 56.

Lancaster's Palace. The London residence of the family of Lancaster had been the Savoy palace on the banks of the Thames, which came to John of Gaunt through his marriage with Blanch, daughter of Henry the first Duke of Lancaster. Only the (restored) Chapel survives—*Rolfe*. The palace itself was burnt by the rebels in 1381.

Duchess of Gloucester; Eleanor Bohun, daughter of Humphrey Earl of Hereford. There is a monument to her in Westminster Abbey.

1—3. Gaunt's relationship to Gloucester, viz. "brotherhood" (9), is

a stronger incentive to revenge than the appeals and exclamations of the duchess. *Woodstock*; see note on I. I. 100.

4. *correction*, i.e. the punishment of the murderers. The general sense is that Richard alone has the power to punish the crime but was himself its author (5), and therefore will not act. Cf. 37—39.

6. *Put we...to*, let us entrust to. *heaven*=the heavenly powers; cf. "they" in 7. So in *Hamlet*, III. 4. 173, *Othello*, IV. 2. 47.

7. *hours*=two syllables. Monosyllables containing diphthongs or long vowels—e.g. *sleep, sweet, cold, moon, room* etc.—since they allow the voice to dwell on them, often take the place of a whole foot.

10. *old*; see the note on I. I. 1.

11. *Edward's seven sons*; namely, Edward the Black Prince, Richard's father; William of Hatfield (died young); Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarence, grandfather of Roger Mortimer Earl of March, the heir presumptive to Richard II.; John of Gaunt; Edmund of Langley, Duke of York; William of Windsor (died young); Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, her husband.

12. *sacred blood*; cf. I. I. 119.

14. *Some of those seven*, i.e. "vials"; cf. "dried."

15. *the Destinies*; commonly termed the Fates, Gk. *Μοῖραι*, Lat. *Parcae*. There were three Fates: Clotho, who held the distaff and span the threads of each man's life; Lachesis, who decided when enough had been spun, i.e. assigned the length of a man's life; and Atropos, who cut the web with her shears, i.e. ended the life.

The duchess means that out of the five of Edward's sons now dead four died (as we say) natural deaths, whereas the other, her husband, was murdered. There is no real antithesis between 14 and 15: the same fact is stated differently in each under the two metaphors.

17—21. The simultaneous continuation of the two widely different metaphors is notable. Of course, line 19 belongs exclusively to the metaphor of the "vials," and line 20 to that of the "branches."

20. *summer*; meaning that he was in the prime of life when put to death in 1397. Gloucester was born in 1355.

faded; so the Quartos; the 1st Folio has *vaded*. Skeat says that *vade* is "a weakened form" of *fade*. It is not uncommon in Elizabethan writers; cf. *The Passionate Pilgrim*, 131, "Sweet rose, fair flower, untimely pluck'd, soon vaded."

21. *envy*; in the strong sense 'malice.' Cf. Romans xiii. 13, "Let us walk honestly,...not in strife and envying."

23. *self-mould*, selfsame-mould. *self*; see G.

25. *consent*, assent.

28. *model*, image.

30. *suffering*, enduring, tamely putting up with, his murder.

33. *mean*, i.e. socially "mean," of the middle class, not "noble."

35. *What shall I say?* She has indeed tried every appeal—to "brotherhood" (9), filial love and reverence (25—28), ~~for~~ (31, 32).

safeguard; the noun used as verb = to protect.

37—41. Gaunt is not to be moved from his previous attitude (4—8).

The language which Gaunt uses as to the sanctity of kinship has a very significant bearing on one of the chief features of the play. It not only explains why he will do nothing to avenge Gloucester, but illustrates the feeling with regard to the sovereign which animated many minds besides Richard's own, e.g. York's (II. 3. 96) and Carlisle's (IV. 1. 121—131). It makes us feel the atmosphere of awe of a king, as God's "steward and deputy" (IV. 1. 126) on earth, in which Richard grew up. Realising this awe we wonder less at the king's untempered sense of his divine right (see p. 180). The coronation of our sovereigns, as of all Christian sovereigns, is a rite of the utmost solemnity.

38. *anointed*, i.e. with the holy oil of consecration, the "balm" (III. 2. 55, IV. 1. 207). See again II. 1. 98; II. 3. 96.

40. *may*, can; the old sense; cf. Germ. *mag*.

42. i.e. to whom shall I address my appeal? *complain myself*; F. *me plaindre*. The reflexive use of verbs (especially verbs derived from French) which are now intransitive is a notable feature of Shakespearean English.

46. *cousin*; Hereford was her nephew and brother-in-law (having married her elder and only sister). But *cousin* is used by Shakespeare of any degree of kinship (except the first, as father, son, etc.): e.g. = niece (II. 2. 103). Sometimes it is merely a friendly "title given by princes to other princes and distinguished noblemen"—*Schmidt*.

47. i.e. so that Gloucester's "wrongs" may add weight and impetus to the spear-thrust. Cf. IV. 1. 66, 67.

49. i.e. if disaster to Mowbray does not attend the first onset. Possibly 'if he (Bolingbroke) has the ill luck to fail at the first onset.' *career*; see G.

50, 51. Notice the alliteration (*b...b*) giving the effect of weight, to suit the sense.

52. *lists*; see G.

53. *caitiff recreant*, a coward vanquished by. *caitiff*; used adjectively. See each word in G.

54. *sometimes*, former=*sometime* in v. 1. 37. The latter is now common in university-phrases like 'sometime scholar.'

58, 59. She means that grief cannot be still but must find vent in "exclaims" (2); *she* cannot imitate the patient bearing of Gaunt. It is a sort of apology for adding "one word more" after having said so much. The metaphor is of a tennis ball bounding and rebounding.

62. *Commend me to*; the common Elizabethan formula for 'remember me to,' 'give my regards to.' Cf. II. 1. 147.

66. *Plashy*, or Pleshy; near Dunmow in Essex.

67. *good old York*. The words stick in one's memory as a terse description of his kindly, well-meaning but weak character. The duchess is evidently York's friend (II. 2. 88, 89).

68. *lodgings*, chambers, rooms; as in *The Taming of the Shrew*, Induction, 1. 49, "And burn sweet wood to make the lodging sweet."

unfurnish'd, i.e. not hung with tapestry, which it was customary to take down whenever the family moved from home—*Steevens*.

69. *offices*; the servants' part of a house, on the ground-floor, at the back, such as kitchen, pantry, store rooms, cellar. Still used thus.

70. *hear*; the 1st Quarto has *cheer*=hospitality.

73. When a word occurs twice in a verse the accentuation is generally varied. Scan here "*Déso|late dés|late* will | I hénce | and die."

74. The duchess does not appear again. The single purpose of her life is to procure the avengement of her husband. She has failed with Gaunt, the one man who, through his own influence and Bolingbroke's, might possibly help her. So her part in the action is played.

It is a stimulating point in the study of a play to note when and why a character drops out of the action. For instance in *King Lear* 'the passing' of the Fool is wonderfully suggestive.

Looking back on the scene one feels that its dramatic effect is to alienate our sympathy from Richard by laying on him the guilt of Gloucester's death, and to heighten, through 45—53, the solemn interest of the Trial by Combat at Coventry. It was with these objects, one may presume, that Shakespeare introduced the duchess.

Scene 3.

For the account in Holinshed see **Extract 3**.

The time, according to I. 1. 199, is September 17th, 1398.

An interesting feature of the scene is the observance of the "rites of knighthood" (I. 1. 75) and ceremonies belonging to a Trial by Combat.

A similar scene of combat is *King Lear*, v. 3. Cf. also the account in *Marmion*, II. xxviii. of the contest between Marmion and De Wilton, and that in *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, v. xiv—xxiii.

the Lord Marshal; see I. 1. 204 note. *the Duke of Aumerle*; "that day being High Constable of England," says Holinshed.

2. *at all points*; the regular phrase for being armed completely, i.e. *cap-à-pie* ('from head to foot'). Cf. *Hamlet*, I. 2. 200, "Armed at point exactly, cap-a-pe."

3. *sprightly and bold*; the adverbial termination *-ly* goes with both words. Schmidt gives numerous instances, e.g. *Richard III.* III. 4. 50, "His grace looks cheerfully and smooth to-day." More often the *ly* is lacking with the first adverb, e.g. in "I'll serve thee true and faithfully till then," *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. 2. 841. So sometimes with inflexions, e.g. the *ed* of the preterite, as in "I fast and prayed," *Cymbeline*, IV. 2. 347, and *est* of the superlative.

5. *champions*, combatants; see G.

6. *Flourish of trumpets*; a loud sounding of trumpets, in sign of triumph, ceremonious entry, etc.

enter Mowbray. Staunton notes that strictly the challenger, i.e. Hereford "the appellant," should appear at the lists first—as he does in Holinshed's account.

7. Scan *châmpion*, i.e. as three syllables.

9, 10. These formalities always took place when the knight presented himself at the gate of the lists. *orderly*, according to rule.

10. *To swear him in*, to make him take an oath as to. The language is intentionally formal—in fact, that of the code of chivalry regulating such contests. "It was thought that the solemn oath would ensure the defeat of the knight who had sworn falsely."

11. *say who thou art*. The "beaver," i.e. visor, of the helmet covered the face, and a knight's crest might not always be known. One reason for the customary question "who art thou?" was that a knight was not bound to fight with one of inferior rank.

13. *quarrel*, cause of complaint; see G.

17. *engaged*, pledged. Cf. *gage* in I. 1. 69.

18. *defend*, forbid = F. *défendre*. Cf. *forfend* = forbid, IV. 1. 129.

20. *my...issue*. So the Quartos. "Mowbray's issue was, by this accusation, in danger of an attainder, and therefore he might come, among other reasons, for their sake"—*Johnson*. The 1st Folio has *his*, i.e. the king's "issue." But *me* in 24 favours *my* in 20; and it is

not very happy to make Mowbray speak of Richard's "issue" when he had none.

21. *appeals*; cf. I. I. 4, note.

25. *truly*, with justice on my side. The line sums up the essential idea of Trial by Combat, viz. that Providence would accord victory to the man who was right, and thus determine the dispute absolutely.

Trumpet sounds. The 1st Folio has simply the rather interesting word *Tucket*. See G.

26. *knight in arms*. Remembered by Milton in the Sonnet written when the Cavalier army was expected to assault London; cf.

"Captain, or Colonel, or Knight in arms,

Whose chance on these defenceless doors may seize."

28. *plated*, clad in plate armour (contrasted originally with chain-armour); cf. *breast-plate*.

29. *formally*; cf. "orderly" in 9.

30. *Depose him in*; exactly=the current legal phrase 'to take a man's depositions,' i.e. sworn statements which can be used as evidence. Cf. *deponent*, one who makes a statement on oath.

42. *pain*, penalty. *life*. So the Quartos, and the sense is the same ('on penalty of losing his life') as with the reading "pain of death" in the 1st Folio.

49. *That vow*, i.e. as pilgrims to Jerusalem or some shrine. Bolingbroke himself made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1390.

57. *blood*, kinsman. The spirit of 57, 58 is hypocritical, and Bolingbroke must have known Richard's real feelings towards him.

59, 60. i.e. "if I am slain by Mowbray, I am an unworthy knight for whom it would be profanation to shed a tear"—*Rolfe*.

60. *gored*, pierced.

61, 62. For the simile from falconry see I. I. 109, note.

66. *lusty*, strong, vigorous. "Lusty and strong," *Psalms* lxxiii. 4. *cheerly*; the form always used by Shakespeare; now poetic; cf. Tennyson, *The Lady of Shalott*, "Hear a song that echoes cheerly."

67, 68. Referring to the dessert of fruit and sweetmeats which followed a feast and was itself called "the banquet." Cf. *The Taming of the Shrew*, v. 2. 9, 10, "my banquet...after our great good cheer."

regreet; salute, without the notion 'again.'

73. *proof*, power of resistance, so that Mowbray's spear shall not pierce Bolingbroke's coat of mail. *proof*; see G.

75. *waxen*. It has a proleptic or anticipatory force: the blessings

are so to harden Bolingbroke's spear that Mowbray's armour will prove as soft and easily penetrated as wax.

76. Gaunt is represented as a very old man, whose long-past deeds of chivalry require as it were to be cleaned of rust and polished anew. The 1st Folio has *furnish for furbish*.

80. Scan *redoib|-e-l'd*; like *Eng|-e-land* in IV. 1. 17.

81. The inversion (*Fall like*) suggests the action described. *amazing*, utterly confounding. *casque* = Ital. *casco*, a helmet, closely akin to *ask*.

84. Understand some words like *I pray. innocency*; so modern editors read, for the sake of the metre. The original editions all have *innocence*. Cf. *Richard III.* III. 5. 20.

Saint George; England's patron saint. "England and Saint George" (*Henry V.* III. 1. 34), "Saint George and victory" (*1 Henry VI.* IV. 6. 1) were battle-cries. *thrive*, make me succeed, give me victory.

90. *enfranchisement*, release.

93—96. The rhyme is designed to give the impression of leave-taking.

95. *as to jest*, i.e. as if to take part in some merriment (or masque). Schmidt says, "as if I were going to a mock-fight."

97. *securely*; it qualifies *couched* (98), in the sense 'confidently, free from anxiety.' See G.

116. *Attending*, waiting for. F. *attendre*.

118. See the account of the whole episode given by Mowbray's son in *2 Henry IV.* IV. 1. 113—129, especially his remark that Richard's impulsive action in stopping the contest (in which Bolingbroke might have been slain) and banishing the dukes led to his troubles.

warder; "a kind of truncheon [or staff] carried by the person who presided at these single combats"—*Steevens*. To throw it down was the formal method of stopping the contest.

119, 120. Spoken to the Marshal.

121. *Withdraw with us*; spoken to his "council" (124). The king moves with them to the back of the stage and holds a brief deliberation. Excited conversation among the onlookers and then the "flourish" of trumpets help to fill up the short interval. At 123 Richard has returned.

Note two slight deviations from Holinshed's account. The chronicler says that the deliberation lasted "two long hours"; the dramatist cuts it down to a few minutes, otherwise a new scene would have been necessary, and the dramatic intensity of the situation broken. The chronicler says that the king's secretary "read the

sentence in a long roll": how much more effective that the king himself should pronounce it, and in a speech full of that imaginative eloquence which a great "situation" always stimulates in him.

122. i.e. till we let them know our judgment.

123. *Draw near*; spoken to the dukes. The short line, followed by a pause which gives them time to approach, has a very solemn effect.

125. *For that*, because; cf. I. I. 129, note. *should*, ought not to be. Some, however, explain 'in order that it should not be.'

127. Scan *aspect* (=sight) and see G. Cf. 209.

128. *civil*, i.e. wounds got in civil strife.

129. *for*, because. *eagle-winged*; cf. the similar metaphor in I. I. 109. The rebuke, though addressed to both, is meant for Bolingbroke. It is Bolingbroke's rivalry with himself, not with Mowbray, who was hated by the people, that Richard fears (2 *Henry IV.* IV. I. 134—137).

131. *set on you*, incite.

133. *infant*; implying that the land had not long enjoyed peace. The period 1389—1397 was one of internal and external peace; a reconciliation between Richard and the Lords Appellant having been made in 1389 and a truce with France in the same year.

The number of monosyllables in 133 gives a slow soft movement exquisitely suggestive of gentle breathing.

134. *Which...roused up*, the violent disturbance of which ("sleep"). *untuned*, discordant.

139. *banish*, i.e. banish *from*; cf. 196. The preposition is often omitted after verbs expressing removal, deprivation, keeping from.

140. *You, cousin Hereford*. Contrast *thou* in I. I. 28.

142. *regreet*; here = salute again, not merely 'salute,' as in 67. *dominions*. Scan the *-ions* as *i-öns*; that is, sounding the *i* instead of slurring it into the next syllable, which bears a weak stress. In Shak. and in Milton's early poems, the termination *-ion*, especially with words ending in *-tion*, such as 'perfection,' 'distraction,' is often treated as two syllables, especially at the end of a line. In Middle English poetry the termination *-ion* was always two syllables.

143. *stranger*; the noun used adjectively = unfamiliar, foreign.

145. *That sun*; pointing to it.

148. Probably Richard's reason for passing so heavy a sentence on Mowbray (his friend) is to make Bolingbroke's seem lighter by contrast. The scheme of banishment is really aimed at Bolingbroke, and Mowbray is made a screen to cover it. *doom*, sentence; see G.

150. *sly slow*. The Quartos and 1st Folio have *slie* (or *slye*) *slow*. The 2nd Folio has *flye slow*, whence some editors read "The *fly-slow* hours." But the word has an odious sound, and it loses the fine idea, enforced by the alliteration (*s...s*), that the cruel hours stealthily slacken their pace on purpose, so as to make the banishment seem endless in its weariness. No doubt, *flye* was a printer's blunder for *slye*, due to the likeness between the old-fashioned *f* and *f*.

determinate, bring to an end (Lat. *terminus*), limit. A legal word, appropriate to the context. Cf. *Sonnet* 87, 4, "My *bonds* in thee are all *determinate*."

151. *dear*, grievous, bitter; see G. Scan *exile* as in 217, and see *aspèct* in G. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, x. 484, "Placed in a Paradise, by our *exile*."

Note the alliteration *d...d...d*, which drives the sentence home, as if the king were writing it out and underlining the number of the years of exile. Milton uses the same alliteration to emphasise something terrible, e.g. in the picture of diseases and their effects, *Paradise Lost*, xi. 489—493.

156. *A dearer merit*, a better reward. *merit*; here = meed, 'that which is deserved' (passive), Lat. *meritum*—not 'that which deserves' (active), as usually. *dearer*; echoing 151 ("dear exile"). Mowbray may well reproach Richard with sacrificing friendship to his fear of Bolingbroke. *main*, wound; the idea suggested by "deep."

159. *forty*. "Norfolk was not much more than thirty years old at this time. His elder brother John was born in 1365"—*Rolfe*. But *forty* is used often by Elizabethans as a significant number, where no precise reckoning is needed. Cf. iii. 2. 85, and *Coriolanus*, iii. 1. 243, "I could beat forty of them." No doubt, this use arose from the fact that forty is a mysterious number in Scripture, and associated with many great events. Thus the wanderings of the Israelites lasted forty years, the fast of our Lord forty days—likewise the fast of Elijah (1 *Kings* xix. 8), and the stay of Moses on the Mount (*Exodus* xxiv. 18).

162. *viol*, a sort of violin.

163. *cunning*; Schmidt says "made with skill," i.e. ingeniously constructed. Possibly 'one that needs cunning (=skill) to play on, difficult,' i.e. a transferred epithet, from the player to the instrument.

164, 165. *being open*, taken from its "case" (163).

his hands...That; see i. 1. 172, 173, note.

167. *Doubly portcullis'd*, shut up as with a double portcullis. *portcullis*; see G.

174. *boots*; see G. *compassionate*; literally 'full of pity'; implying here 'full of pity for yourself' and so 'plaintive, full of laments.' Some editors interpret 'moving pity, seeking to excite the compassion of others.'

175. *plaining*, complaining; cf. F. *plaindre*.

178. *with ye*. The original distinction between *ye* (nominative) and *you* (objective) was often ignored by Elizabethan writers; we see it in *John* xv. 16, "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you."

179. *on our royal sword*, i.e. on the handle, which with the blade forms the shape of a cross: hence the origin of this once common method of administering an oath. Staunton quotes an ancient formula of "swearing by or on the sword," which runs, "you shall sweare...by the crosse of this sword, which doth represent unto you the Crosse which our Saviour suffered his most paynefull deathe upon." He explains it as a Christian adaptation of the pagan custom of swearing "by the *edge* of a sword," and says that the latter custom is referred to in *Hamlet*, I. 5. 158—160.

181. *Our part therein*, our share in your dutiful allegiance. "It is a question much debated amongst the writers of the law of nations, whether a banished man may be still tied in his allegiance to the state which sent him into exile"—*Warburton*; he concludes from this line that Shakespeare thought not.

185, 186. *Nor never*; the emphatic double negative so common in Shakespeare; see p. 236.

186, 187. i.e. never make up abroad the quarrel which arose between them at home, in England.

188. *by advised purpose*, designedly. *advised*, concerted.

189. *plot, contrive, or complot*. "Legal tautology"—*Rolfe*.

complot; cf. I. I. 96.

193. i.e. so far as it is proper to speak to my foe, I will to you. It is a preface to what he is about to say, and its abrupt curtness may be meant to mark his scorn—as if he were flinging the lines in Mowbray's teeth. Note that neither combatant has addressed the other in this scene so far: hence some such prefatory remark is natural.

196. *sepulchre*; with the accentuation of Lat. *sepulcrum*. So the verb always, e.g. in *Lucrece*, 805, "May likewise be sepulchred in thy shade." Cf. Milton's *Epitaph* on Shakespeare, 14, "And, so sepulchred, in such pomp dost lie." Elsewhere Shakespeare accents the noun *sepulchre* (as now).

201. *if ever I were*. The condition is in past time ('if ever I *was*'),

and the subjunctive seems designed to emphasise the doubtfulness of the supposition. Cf. 1 *Henry IV.* II. 4. 182, 183, "I am a rogue, if I were not at half-sword with a dozen of them." West says, "The subjunctive mood has decayed till it is almost dead," but in Shakespeare's English it still had a considerable amount of vitality, especially in this use of *were* in past time.

202. *Revelation* iii. 5, "and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life." Cf. *Paradise Lost*, I. 361—363.

204, 205. Mowbray has perceived Bolingbroke's designs.

shall rue, i.e. have bitter cause to regret that you are what you are; or perhaps 'rue his knowledge.' It is a fine touch of anticipation, like Brabantio's warning to Othello (I. 3. 294), "She has deceived her father, *and may thee*."

206, 207. *stray*, wander from the right way; since to him in exile one way is as good as another. For a certain verbal resemblance cf. the close of *Paradise Lost*.

208—212. Historically it was some weeks later that Richard, at Eltham, remitted part of Bolingbroke's sentence (and then because of the indignation which it had roused among the people). But the dramatist has again had to exercise his privilege of compression. And note how naturally Richard's sudden relenting is made to follow Mowbray's last speech: the gloomy hint in 205 has frightened him, and he hastens to propitiate Bolingbroke and his friends a little.

213. *one little word*, i.e. the number, whatever it be, which the king chooses to speak: so powerful ("such") are his words.

The alliteration *l...l* is a recognised poetic artifice to suggest length, though more often length of space, as in Milton; cf. *Comus*, 340, *Paradise Lost*, VII. 480.

220. *bring their times about*, cause their seasons (spring, summer, etc.) to come round ("about").

222. *extinct*, extinguished, Lat. *extinctus*. Cf. *Samson Agonistes*, 70, "Light, the prime work of God, to me is extinct" (spoken by the blind hero).

224. *blindfold*, blind.

226—232. "It is matter of very melancholy consideration, that all human advantages confer more power of doing evil than good"—*Johnson*. Is this pessimistic view true?

230. *no wrinkle*, none of those wrinkles which Time brings to men as he moves along on his course. The representation of Time as an aged wayfarer is conventional.

231. *current*, valid, having currency, like a coin. Cf. "sterling" in IV. 1. 264.

232. Analyse the line. *buy*, i.e. buy back.

233. *upon good advice*, after careful consideration.

234. *a party-verdict*, a sentence which was party to, i.e. assented to, his banishment. "There is Holinshed's authority for describing the sentence [against Bolingbroke] as the act of the 'Council' (124) of which Gaunt himself was a member"—*Courtenay*.

235. *frow*, frown.

236. i.e. Gaunt did not realise at the time how bitter he would afterwards find the loss of his son.

240. *To smooth*, in glossing over, palliating. *To*; cf. *to* in 244.

241. *A partial slander*; "the reproach of *partiality*. This is a just picture of the struggle between principle and affection"—*Johnson*.

243. *I look'd when*, I looked for the time when, I expected that some of you would say.

248. *Exeunt King Richard and Train*. We have here an illustration how the absence of scenery on the Elizabethan stage affected the structure of plays. In a modern play, surely, this scene would end with the king's exit. The interview between Gaunt and Bolingbroke would be thrown into a fresh scene. For characters to remain behind and wind up a scene seems unnatural; it risks an anticlimax. But in the Elizabethan theatre, as there was no curtain to fall and practically no scenery to mark a change of scene, the tendency was to extend a scene instead of starting a fresh one: as if the playwright thought that certain characters might as well stay behind as go off and return. Cf. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, I. 1. 127, where strictly it is an awkward, artificial device to make Lysander and Hermia remain for an interview (which Egeus would naturally wish to prevent), while the Duke and all the other characters, including Egeus, leave the stage. Cf. again the end of the first scene in *King Lear*.

249. *what presence*, i.e. what they cannot know by being present with him.

255. Bolingbroke's bearing is very characteristic and marks him the grim, strong man of few words where words are useless. Imagine the copious, picturesque eloquence that Richard would have poured forth under similar circumstances. It is a generous trait that Bolingbroke does not hint any reproach that Gaunt assented to his banishment.

257. *breathe the dolour of*, give vent to the grief of. F. *douleur*.

258—264. Observe the *στιχομυθία*, or dialogue in alternate lines,

which is so common in the Greek tragic writers and Seneca, and in the early English tragedies like *Gorboduc* modelled on Seneca's style. The most striking instance in Shakespeare of this type of dialogue is *Richard III.* IV. 4. 343—367, a play written under the influence of his great predecessor Marlowe. Marlowe was a Cambridge man, and, though the general character of his works is essentially romantic, yet he shows the influence of his academic training by several features, e.g. the use of *στιχομυθία* and numerous classical allusions.

261. Cf. the passage in *As You Like It*, III. 2. 326—357 describing how "Time travels in divers paces with divers persons."

262. Some think that there is a quibble on *travel* (journey) and *travail* (toil). The words are the same.

265—267. i.e. regard your banishment as something which by contrast will heighten the pleasure of your return home, just as the gold leaf heightens the beauty of the gem which is set in it. *foil*; see G.

268—293. Omitted in the Folios.

269. *remember*; for the transitive use ('remind') cf. *The Tempest*, I. 2. 243, "Let me remember thee what thou hast promised."

271. The metaphor of an apprentice who binds himself to serve a master in a trade for a certain period.

272. *passages*, travels.

274. *a journeyman to*, a hired workman of; properly a man who works by the day (F. *journée*); strictly a *journey* is a day's travel. Bolingbroke is quibbling bitterly on the *journey* part of the word.

275—280. Malone compared a passage in Lyly's *Euphues*, where a man counsels another to bear his exile patiently with Plato's reflection "that *every place was a country to a wise man, and all parts a palace to a quiet mind*. When it was cast in Diogenes' teeth, that the Sinoponetes had banished him [from] Pontus, yea, said he, I them of Diogenes."

275. *the eye of heaven*, the sun. A favourite Elizabethan phrase; cf. *Sonnet* 18, "Sometime too hot the eye of heaven shines."

282. *say*, i.e. to yourself; suppose. *purchase*, win; see G.

283. Scan *exiled*, and cf. 151.

284. Cf. the words of King Lear (III. 4. 69, 70):

"Now, all the plagues that in the pendulous air

Hang fated o'er men's faults, light on thy daughters!"

285. *clime*, climate; sometimes 'region, land.'

288. *musicians*; scan as four syllables, like *physician* in I. 1. 154.

289. *presence*, presence-chamber of the king. *strew'd*, with rushes; an Elizabethan custom (prior to the use of carpets) often referred to.

Cf. *The Taming of the Shrew*, IV. 1. 47, 48, "is supper ready, the house trimmed, rushes strewed?" Rolfe says: "Sweet-smelling herbs were sometimes mixed with these rushes, which ordinarily were allowed to remain several days, or even weeks, and often became very dirty and unsavoury. It was thought to be a piece of unnecessary luxury, on the part of Wolsey, when he wisely caused the rushes of Hampton Court to be changed every day....The last monarch whose presence-chamber was thus carpeted was Queen Elizabeth."

291. *measure*; properly a stately dance (cf. 'to tread a measure'), and so distinguished from an ordinary dance here; but often used of any kind of dance, slow or quick.

292. *gnarling*, snarling, growling; cf. 2 *Henry VI.* III. 1. 192, "And wolves are gnarling who shall gnaw thee." An imitative word, i.e. one that represents the sound of an animal snarling.

293. *sets*, holds, esteems; the metaphor perhaps of fixing a price.

294—299. Gaunt has been saying '*imagine* (286) that your case is very different from what it is': Bolingbroke replies '*imagination* (297) will not work wonders and change the nature of things.'

294. *fire*=two syllables, through the 'roll' of the *r*. "'Fire' was often spelt and is still vulgarly pronounced 'fier'"—*Abbott*.

296. *the edge of appetite*; the metaphor in 'to whet the appetite.'

299. *fantastic*, imaginary; not='fanciful,' as now.

300, 301. *apprehension*, conception. A vivid conception of a good thing which one lacks makes one more keenly sensitive to the bad thing that one has to put up with.

302, 303. Replying to Gaunt's words (292). *rankle*; "to breed corruption, poison"—*Schmidt*. Cf. *Richard III.* 1. 3. 289—291:

"take heed of yonder dog!

Look, when he fawns, he bites; and when he bites,

His venom tooth will rankle to the death."

but lanceth not the sore, but does not try by lancing to cure the sore which his bite has caused.

304. *bring*, accompany; cf. the next scene, line 2.

Johnson thought that Act I. should end here, so that before Act II. "there may be time for John of Gaunt to accompany his son, return, and fall sick...As the play is now divided, more time passes between the last two scenes of the first Act, than between the first Act and the second." But the question of time is not very important, and Scene 5 forms a fit conclusion to the Act since it brings the action back to

Richard, the protagonist of the play, and (as Coleridge notes) reveals fresh aspects of his character as he speaks freely among his favourites.

Scene 4.

The time of this scene is about six months after the last, as Gaunt (54—56) died Feb. 3, 1399.

1. *We did observe.* Part of the conversation he has been holding with Bagot and Green. Explained by 24.

2. *brought*; cf. 1. 3. 304.

5. Asked ironically. *store*, plenty, abundance. Cf. the old saying "store is no sore."

6. *for me*, as far as I am concerned, on my part.

8. i.e. made one's eyes water. *rheum*, moisture from the eyes etc.

12. *for*, because; cf. 43.

13. *the word*, i.e. "farewell." *that*, his "heart"; some say '*the fact* that his heart disdained.'

13—15. i.e. he pretended to be too upset at the parting to be able to say anything.

16—19. Cf. Bagot's charge, IV. 1. 15—17. *Marry*, why, or 'indeed.'

20—22. Richard means that when the six years of Bolingbroke's exile are expired he will still not let him return. Since Scene 3 Richard has grown more alarmed as to the danger of Bolingbroke's rivalry. No doubt, his favourites have worked upon his fears; cf. 23, 24. Also he has seen how much the banishment has excited popular sympathy with Bolingbroke, who has evidently made the most of his grievance to win the feelings of the people. "It is the natural mistake of a weak nature to think that it is enough to banish a dangerous enemy without striking at the real source of his power, which lies in the widespread popular disaffection"—*Boas*.

20. *'tis doubt*, a matter of doubt. Cf. "'tis wonder that," i.e. a subject of surprise, *King Lear*, IV. 7. 41.

22. *come*; the subjunctive is used to emphasise doubt.

23. *Bushy*; Sir John Bushy, Speaker of the Commons. Holinshed notes that he was extremely ambitious and covetous, and a great flatterer of Richard, whom he addressed with such titles and language "as were rather agreeable [suitable] to the diuine majestie of God, than to any earthlie potentate."

24. Note Richard's contemptuous attitude towards his people; cf. "common," "slaves," "brace." It is not the language of a Henry V.

25, 26. Cf. Bolingbroke's own description in 1 *Henry IV.* III. 2. 50—54 how by his humility and courtesy to the people he "did pluck allegiance from men's hearts."

28. *craftsmen...craft*; an intentional word-play.

29. *underbearing*, endurance.

30. i.e. as if he wished to take their affections into exile with himself, i.e. away from Richard.

31. *bonnet*, cap; see G.

33. Remembered by Milton in *Paradise Lost*, v. 782; cf. "Kneetribute yet unpaid, prostration vile!"

35. i.e. as if our realm were bound to come to him some day.

Here there is the same "irony" as in I. I. 116, only stronger, since Richard is ridiculing (perhaps a little uneasily) the idea that the crown was destined to come to Bolingbroke—as the audience knew that it did. *reversion*; a legal word for 'right of future possession.'

Shakespeare's partiality for legal terms and accuracy in using them indicate a considerable knowledge of law, which gave rise to the conjecture that as a youth he may have been in an attorney's office. But his use of technical terms in general is very correct, and *King Lear* shows that his medical knowledge was great; yet the medical profession have not, I believe, claimed him as a doctor. The Trial-scene in *The Merchant of Venice* is always quoted as a specially striking illustration of his legal lore. Note the instances in the play.

38. See **Extract 4** from Holinshed. The immediate cause of Richard's going to Ireland was the death of Roger Mortimer, who was slain on August 15, 1398, during operations against the Irish.

39. *Expedient manage*, speedy measures must be taken. Cf. *expedience*=haste, II. I. 287, and *expeditious*.

44. *largess*, i.e. gifts to his favourites.

45. The system of *farming the realm* was that the king assigned to his four favourites Bagot, Bushy, Green and Scrope the revenues of all his lands and all rights of taxation in return for a fixed monthly sum from them. Each was assigned a quarter of the realm, and made as much as he could by exactions.

48. *blank charters*=*blanks* in II. I. 250. A *blank charter* was a paper with a blank space which bound the man who signed it to pay to the king whatever sum of money was stated upon it. The king's officers would force a rich man to sign or seal one of these bonds and afterwards fill in the amount which he had to pay. It was exactly the same as signing a blank cheque and leaving the person to whom it is

made payable to write on it any sum he chooses. Cf. 'to give *carte blanche*' (literally 'blank paper'), meaning 'to give a man full discretion to act as he pleases.' The system of *blank charters* was one of the abuses specially brought up against Richard afterwards (Staunton).

50. *subscribe them for*; exactly 'put them down for,' as we say of a subscription-list.

52. *make for*, start for. *presently*, at once, without delay.

58. *Ely House*; the palace of the Bishops of Ely (see *Richard III.* III. 4. 32—35) in London; Ely Place in Holborn marks the site. The chapel is the only part that survives.

ACT II.

Scene 1.

There is no hint for this interview between Richard and Gaunt in Holinshed, who merely chronicles Gaunt's death, and passes on to describe the king's action in reference to Gaunt's possessions, and the effect of his action. See **Extracts 5 and 6.**

7, 8. The couplet illustrates one of the special purposes for which Shakespeare uses rhyme, viz. to convey "sententious moralising." We find this even in his later plays; cf. *Othello*, I. 3. 202—219 (a moralising speech of eighteen lines entirely in rhymed couplets). The use is very true to life, since maxims and proverbial sayings tend naturally to rhyme (or assonance) which makes them stick in the memory.

9—12. Observe the quatrain-form, one of the marks of Shakespeare's early style. Cf. III. 2. 76—79, 194—197.

9. *listen'd*; several times transitive ('hearken to'), e.g. in *Julius Caesar*, IV. 1. 41, "listen great things" (=hear important news).

10. *glose*, speak flatteringly, like Richard's favourites; see G.

12. *the close*; "the harmonious chords which end a piece of music," the cadence.

13. *As*, like. *is*, singular, because it goes separately with each subject. *last*, because it comes last; or 'at the last, just ere it dies away.'

16. i.e. what Gaunt as a dying man (5) may say.

17. It has been well said that what interests Shakespeare most in his English kings like Richard II., Henry VI. and John, is the "irony of kingship," i.e. the contrast between the man himself and the king, between the weakness of his personal character and the greatness of his position and responsibilities. Only in Henry V. is the man equal with the king.

18. *As*, namely, to wit. *of whose taste the wise are fond*, i.e. to which *even* the wise are partial, much more Richard. The text is rather uncertain here.

19. *metres*, verses. *venom*, poisonous; adj. as noun.

21—23. The imitation of Italy was more Elizabethan than mediæval. Shakespeare was thinking of his own time; so was Marlowe in *Edward II.* I. 1. 54, I. 4. 413, 414 (references to Italian fashions). In Elizabeth's reign many English of all classes visited Italy, as one can see from travellers' narratives and the constant allusions in plays of the period. Thus in *As You Like It*, IV. 1. 38, the typical traveller is described as one who has of course "swam in a gondola," i.e. been to Venice. One of Portia's suitors in *The Merchant of Venice*, I. 2. 72, is "the young baron of England." Indeed, for an English noble to travel in Italy was almost as common then as in the last century to make 'the grand tour' of Europe. With the dramatists, the imitation of Italy, especially in things relating to fashionable life, dress, amusements, was a constant subject of satire. But in Richard's reign, especially the latter part, the dominant influence was French, owing to his marriage. Displaced for a time by the Italian, this French influence became all powerful again under Charles II.

In Shakespeare's plays and in Elizabethan plays generally there is (I believe) a considerable element of what has been called 'topical allusion'—allusion, that is, to topics and events of the time, literary customs, pastimes, fashions, current jokes, etc.

21. *fashions*, customs in general, not of dress only.

22, 23. Cf. Bacon's advice *Of Travel* (last lines), *Essays*, Pitt Press ed. p. 53. *still*, ever, always; see G. *tardy apish*, i.e. slow in devising fashions for itself but ever ready to copy them from others. Scan *imitati-ön*.

24. *a vanity*, any foolish pursuit, frivolity. See the contemptuous description of Richard in *1 Henry IV.* III. 2. 60 et seq.

25. *there's no respect*, it matters not at all

26. *buzz'd*, whispered; a contemptuous word, suggestive of gossip, tittle-tattle. A *buzzer* is a tale-bearer in *Hamlet*, IV. 5. 90.

27—30. Again the rhyme fits the "sententious" turn.

28. i.e., where inclination rebels against better judgment.
wit; used more then in the wider senses 'mental power, judgment, understanding.' *regard*, view, perception.
33. Observe how sound echoes sense, the vowel-sounds, alliteration, and sibilants combining to suggest a blaze.
- 34—37. Moralising in the form of proverbial reflections suitable to old age. *fires*; a dissyllable, as in I. 3. 294.
36. *betimes*, soon, early; see G.
- 38, 39. *Light vanity*, the empty, frivolous spirit which does not look for solid interests and duties in life, and in time grows tired of the unsatisfying round of pleasure, and is then disgusted with itself.
- 40—68. This glorious speech—instinct with the true Elizabethan sense of the imperial grandeur of England, under the rule of the Maiden Queen—is surely the high-water mark of the eloquence of patriotism. It is Shakespeare's own and earliest expression of "his exultation over England's greatness and his pride in being an Englishman"—*Brandes*. It is quoted (a sign of popularity) in the well-known collection of poetical extracts from various writers called England's *Parnassus* (1600), but attributed there to Drayton.
- 43—49. The lines would recall the peril of the Armada, which taught England, as did the fear of invasion in Napoleon's time, the blessing of its insular isolation and command of the sea. So in the Great War (1914—18). "The Elizabethan age, like our own, was impregnated with the theory of Sea-Power"—*Shakespeare's England*, 1916, I. 162 ("The Navy"). See pp. 180, 222.
44. *infection*, pestilence, such as the great plagues, like the Black Death. As England did not always escape, Johnson suggested *invasion*, which merely anticipates *Wars*.
45. *this little world*, this microcosm (Gk. μικρός + κόσμος, 'little world') or epitome of the macrocosm or great (Gk. μακρός) universe.
46. Cf. Tennyson's address to Nelson: "O saviour of the silver-coasted isle!"—*Ode on Wellington*. *set*; the metaphor in I. 3. 266. The alliterated *s* is used to suggest the silvery, flashing sheen of the waves.
48. *as a moat*; a very real comparison in Gaunt's time.
49. *less happier*; a form of the emphatic double comparative.
50. *this England*. The climax, led up to by the slow movement of the monosyllables and enforced by the extra syllable on which the speaker seems to linger for a moment—*this Eng-land*.
51. Here comes out the Elizabethan admiration of their Queen. Shakespeare's great offering of homage to her is the "Vision" of

Oberon in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. 1. 155—164, one of the most splendid pieces of compliment in all literature. Cf. the last stanza of the dedication of *The Faerie Queene*, ("Great Ladie of the greatest Isle" etc.).

52. *Fear'd by*, inspiring fear by.

53—56. i.e. renowned even as far off as that sepulchre in Judæa of Him Who is the Redeemer of the world, the Son of the blessed Virgin.

An allusion surely to the Crusades, which had for their object the possession of the Holy Places, especially the "Sepulchre" (55). Richard I. went on the third Crusade, 1191, and Edward I. (as Prince Edward) on the seventh, 1270.

55. *stubborn*, obstinate in rejecting its Messiah. *Jewry*; strictly Judæa, as in *Luke* xxiii. 5, *John* vii. 1 (where the Revised Version substitutes *Judæa*). But probably in Shakespeare *Jewry* = "the lands of the *Jews*" — *Schmidt*.

59. *leased out*, i.e. by the system of "farming" (I. 4. 45), to which the next line is a bitter reference (cf. "farm").

60. *tenement*, exactly 'a holding' (Lat. *tenere*, to hold), i.e. a house or property rented to a *tenant*. He purposely uses a contemptuous legal word. *pelting*, paltry; see G. 1

61. *triumphant*; as protecting England from the attacks of other "lands" (49), yet itself beaten back by the "rocky shore."

64. *inky blots*; "a contemptuous term for *writings*" — *Roswell*. Richard has "leased out" his realm, and a lease means contracts, bonds, etc. drawn up on the parchment that the law loves. And through these contracts England is no more free, but bound and fettered, and delivered into the hands of the king's favourites (65, 66).

65. The old man's memory reverts to the victories of his youth over "the French," as does York's (171—183). He had himself borne a part in the later, inglorious period of the French wars of his father Edward III., though not a successful part (e.g. in 1373).

68. *Queen*; Isabella, Richard's second wife; then only a child.

69. *deal mildly*. The remark is characteristic of York, who is kindly and easy-going; likes to make things smooth for people and avoid 'scenes.' After Gaunt's recent tirade it is natural to expect that he will speak his mind somewhat freely. *youth*. Richard was 32, but Shakespeare, as we saw, represents the dukes as very old men.

70. *raged*, chafed, enraged. "Rage" and "ragerie" were terms specially applied by horsemen to the mad bounds, etc. of "colts" not broken in. (See Madden's *Diary of Master William Silence*, p. 256.)

72. Beside the Queen's courteous address, Richard's enquiry sounds rough and unsympathetic, and Gaunt, ready to be offended, resents its tone immediately. Contrast Richard's previous manner of addressing him in I. 1. 1, 158; I. 3. 208, 225. But the king was displeased (I. 3. 235) with Gaunt's plain speaking in I. 3. 226—232, and Bolingbroke's banishment has bred ill-feeling between them.

73. *composition*, condition, state.

74. *Gaunt...gaunt*. Shakespeare makes his characters jest thus in moments of great emotion as a relief to the feelings. Cf. *The Merchant of Venice*, IV. 1. 281, where Antonio, meaning that he will *gladly* pay the debt of the pound of flesh which is to be cut *near his heart*, says, "I'll pay it instantly *with all my heart*." So Sophocles makes the miserable Ajax quibble on his name *Atas* and *αἰς*, 'to cry alas!'—an exact parallel to Gaunt's quibble. Very often the feeling of which such jesting is the outlet is one of extreme bitterness, as here, and in III. 3. 140, 141, 180; IV. 1. 317. It is partly on this principle that the follies of the Jester are mingled with the errors of *King Lear*: they give not only contrast but the relief of those smiles which are so near to tears. Cf. Hazlitt's remark: "The imagination is glad to take refuge in the half-comic, half-serious comments of the Fool, just as the mind under the extreme anguish of a surgical operation vents itself in sallies of wit." For physical "anguish" substitute mental in this case.

77. *sleeping*, i.e. in sloth. *watch'd*, kept awake so as to guard.

83. *inherits*, holds, possesses; see G.

84. *nicely*, subtly, *too* cleverly; see G.

85. i.e. it is misery, not sickness, as you suppose (84), which inspires such jesting: misery finds sport in ridiculing itself.

86. *in me*, in my person; as though his name would die with him because his son had been banished. Richard, he means, has practically robbed him of an heir. Some think that Gaunt foresees how Richard means to treat Bolingbroke in the matter of his titles and inheritance.

88—92. On the alternate form of dialogue see I. 3. 258, note.

89. *those that die*, i.e. Richard (91), whose "death-bed" is his land (95).

90. *a-dying*. Here *a* is used for *an*, another form of *on*, which in turn is closely akin to *in*; while *dying* is the verbal noun.

The verbal noun was used with *on*, *in*, *a*, (1) after verbs of motion, as "he went *on hunting*," "he fell *on sleeping*"; (2) with a passive signification after *is*, *was*, e.g. "the church was in building," "this was a doing"; and (3) with *a* in phrases like "he is long *a rising*,"

and the phrase here—*Morris*. In each case the tendency is to drop the preposition: thus “long a rising” is now colloquial, or provincial, or intentionally archaic, but not current English.

93, 94. “God knows I see thee ill (in the double sense of seeing dimly, and of seeing Richard morally unwell), being myself ill to see (i.e. to look on) and seeing ill (ill-doing) in thee”—*Marshall*.

The line is probably not an Alexandrine (six feet). Abbot scans it “Íll in | myself | to see, | and in thee | seeing ill”; | making the fourth foot an illustration of the rule that there may be more than two syllables in a foot if only one is accented, and slurring the second syllable of *seeing* in the last foot. Steevens would omit to *see*.

95. *Thy*; said with emphasis, to contrast it with the death-bed on which Gaunt himself is lying. *lesser*; emphatic double comparative; cf. III. 3. 137.

98. *anointed*; see note on I. 2. 38.

102, 103. i.e. though Richard's favourites (those evil “physicians”) are confined within so small a compass (the crown), yet the havoc they cause extends to the whole country.

verge; “a legal term—the compass of the king's court, or the jurisdiction of the lord steward of the royal household, which extended for 12 miles round”—*Rolfe*. *waste*; “the legal term for the destruction of any houses, woods, etc. done by the tenant for life to the prejudice of the heir, or of the holder of the reversion”—*Marshall*.

104. *thy grandsire*; Edward III.

105. *his son's*; the Black Prince's. *should*, was destined to. *his sons*; Gloucester and Gaunt himself.

108. *which*, who; cf. I. 1. 173. *possess'd*, i.e. as by an evil spirit; mad. Used quibblingly in reference to *possess'd* (=placed in possession of the throne) in 107.

109. *Cousin*, nephew; see note on I. 2. 46.

111. *for*, as: ‘having no other world than this land.’

113. *art thou now, not king*. Many editors read so, following the Quartos, which, however, by an obvious blunder put in an extra *not* (“art thou now *not*, *not* king”). Some keep the 1st Folio's reading *art thou, and not king*.

114. The general sense is that Richard is now subject to the legal obligations into which he has entered by leasing out the land: he is slave to those “parchment bonds” (64).

Thy state of law, thy legal state, which has been variously interpreted (1) ‘thy *present* position of being amenable to the common

rules of law like any other landlord,' (2) 'that sovereign position which the law allotted you in the kingdom (but which you have forfeited).' By (2) we get a striking antithesis between the sovereignty which should be Richard's "lawful estate," and the "bondslave" condition (a bitter word-play) into which he has brought himself.

115. So the Quartos, and to the ear the *thou* in his speech serves as the subject of *darest* in Richard's (117), though it cannot grammatically. The 1st Folio's reading, though more correct, seems tamer :

"Gaunt. And—

Richard. And thou" etc.

lean-witted, barren of brains, stupid. Cf. "lean pates"=stupid heads, *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. 1. 26.

119. *his*, its; see G. Or "blood" may be personified.

120. *seat's*, throne's.

121. i.e. brother to Richard's father, the Black Prince.

122. *roundly*, freely; implying 'plain-spoken.' Cf. *Hamlet*, III. 4. 5, "be round with him."

125. *For that*, because; cf. I. 1. 129.

126, 127. He accuses Richard to his face of Gloucester's murder.

like the pelican; alluding to the story that the young pelicans (Richard was young compared with Gloucester) fed on the blood from the heart of the mother bird; cf. *Hamlet*, IV. 5. 145-147:

"To his good friends thus wide I'll ope my arms,

And, like the kind life-rendering pelican,

Repast them with my blood."

The pelican is the Christian symbol of self-sacrifice.

131. *respect'st not*, dost not scruple about.

133. *crooked age*. Malone showed that this was a not uncommon phrase in Elizabethan poets. *crooked*; cf. 'bent, bowed down, with age.'

135. *die not shame with thee!* Certainly Shakespeare himself made Richard's shame immortal, as he perhaps felt when he wrote the line.

138. *Love they*, let them love. He makes, I suppose, a contemptuous gesture towards Richard as he says *they*, and speaks ironically, meaning that the king has lost his own honour and his subjects' love (cf. 95, 96, 106, 246-248).

139, 140. *sullens*, moroseness, fits of ill-temper. *become*, suit.

141. *majesty*; treated as a dissyllable, the middle being slurred.

145. York, the peacemaker, as before (69, 70), meant that Gaunt loves Richard as much as he loves Bolingbroke; but Richard purposely

misunderstands him, as though he had said 'Gaunt loves you as much as Bolingbroke loves you,' i.e. not at all.

148—150. Gaunt's demise seems to follow a little too rapidly for perfect naturalness of effect. *nay*=two syllables.

149. The same metaphor as in I. 3. 161, 162.

151. *bankrupt*; the metaphor of "spent," and "poor" (152).

154. *must be*, has still to be, is not yet finished.

155. *our Irish wars*; cf. I. 4, 38—41.

156. *supplant*, uproot, get rid of. *rug-headed kerns*, shaggy-haired Irish foot-soldiers. See each word in G., and cf. 2 *Henry VI.* III. 1. 367, "Full often, like a shag-hair'd crafty kern." Some explain that the *kerns* are called *rug-headed* because their heads were as shaggy and rough as the cloaks of rough frieze called *rugs* which the Irish peasants wore. See *Kenilworth*, xv.; Scott has numbers of Shakespearean quotations and words in that novel, as Elizabethan colouring.

157, 158. *no venom else*, no poisonous thing besides them. A reference to the story that St Patrick rid Ireland of all reptiles.

have; attracted to *they* from the proper subject *no venom else*.

159. *for*, because. *ask some charge*, require some outlay, involve expenditure. *ask*; see G. 162. *stand*; often used = to be.

164. *suffer wrong*, i.e. not protest against Richard's wrong-doing.

166. *Gaunt's rebukes*; referring to Richard's rude treatment of Gaunt. *England's private wrongs*, the grievances of the English people (such as are described in 241—251), in distinction from those just mentioned of the royal house. See **Extract 6**.

167. Bolingbroke, whose first wife died in 1394, went to France on his banishment and became engaged to a cousin of Charles VI. (the father of Richard's own wife); but Richard sent the Earl of Salisbury to persuade Charles to break off the match. This is all in Holinshed.

171. *I am the last*. A fine piece of pathos, and a just appeal, for if *anything* could rouse the king to a sense of his shame it would surely be the mention of his heroic father.

173. Omission of the relative (cf. I. 1. 50) is specially common where, as here, the verb follows the antecedent immediately.

177. i.e. at your age. *Accomplish'd*, literally 'furnished with,' as in *The Merchant of Venice*, III. 4. 61; *Henry V.* IV. Chorus 12.

184, 185. i.e. York is carried away by grief, otherwise he would not venture to make this comparison between the king and his father.

190. *royalties*, rights; cf. II. 3. 120. Cf. *royalty* on a book, play, mine, etc.=the right to a percentage of the profits.

192. *true*, i.e. to the throne; loyal. Cf. "*truth* and fealty," v. 2. 44, and *untruth*, II. 2. 99. Bolingbroke had loyally obeyed the king's sentence of banishment.

195, 196. 'If you take away Hereford's rights you rob Time of his prescriptive privileges; for it is the right of Time to make the son heir to his father's possessions.'

199. *succession*; scan like *imitation* in 23.

200—208. Here York is seen to the best advantage. He does not fear to incur Richard's anger by warning him, and his warning shows the soundest judgment. For Richard's action not only gave Bolingbroke a good excuse for returning, but alarmed the other barons (cf. 263—269), lest their turn should come next. Moreover, Richard showed that his word was worthless, since he had promised Bolingbroke that he should be allowed to claim his inheritance through a proxy and had given him "letters patent" to that effect. We shall see how Shakespeare makes Richard's breach of faith the basis of Bolingbroke's future action.

202. *Call in*, cancel, annul. *letters-patents* = "letters by which some rights are conferred"—*Schmidt*; here the "right conferred" is defined in 203, 204. The phrase is now written *letters patent*. *patent* = privilege, right, as in 'taking out a *patent*,' i.e. registering a legal claim to the sole right of manufacturing some article.

203, 204. *his attorneys-general* = "those who are appointed by general authority for all his affairs and suits"—*Schmidt*. The word *attorney* in Shakespeare always has the idea 'substitute, one who acts for another'; see G.

to sue His livery, to claim the *delivery* to him of his property. If the heir to a property "was under age he became a ward of the king; but if he was found to be of full age, he then had a right *to sue out* a writ of *ouster le main*, that is, his *livery*, that the king's hand might be taken off, and the land *delivered* to him"—*Malone*.

This formality of claiming a property was part of the feudal system of "wardship," by which, if the heir was under age, his "superior lord" from whom he held the land had the right of wardship, "and the custody of the manor and land, without having to account for the profits of the land," till the heir came of age, when he *sued out his livery* by the process mentioned above, and thus got possession of his property. This system of "wardship" had been gradually modified.

deny his homage; "*refuse* to admit the *homage*, by which he is to hold his lands"—*Johnson*.

209—214. The rhyme has the effect of bringing the situation to a close, as at the end of a scene.

209, 210. Robbery in an ascending scale.

211. *by*, present near. See **Extract 6** from Holinshed (last lines).

213, 214. i.e. as regards (*by*) evil ways one may be perfectly sure that their results can never be good. The figurative use of *by* = 'with regard to, about' comes naturally from the literal meaning 'near.' *event* = issue, result, Lat. *eventus*.

215. *the Earl of Wiltshire*; treasurer of England; made Earl of Wiltshire in 1397, previously Sir William le Scrope. Executed at Bristol (II. 2. 133, 134) on the occasion described in III. 1. 1—34, though he is not mentioned there.

217. *see, see to*; cf. *The Taming of the Shrew*, I. 2. 147, "see that at any hand." More often with a participle, as in *The Merchant of V.* II. 2. 123, "see these letters delivered." *business*; scan as 3 syllables.

221. *just*, honourable in all his dealings; like Gaunt (192). It says much for York (and something for Richard, considering York's plainspoken rebukes) that he should be left in charge of the realm.

224. Here again a new scene would be more natural, indeed necessary chronologically, so as to allow *some* interval between Richard's announcement in 209, 210 and its result, viz. Bolingbroke's return (277—290). Gaunt died on Feb. 3, 1399, and Bolingbroke landed at Ravenspurgh early in the following July. For the sake of concentration the dramatist ignores the interval altogether, and by so doing brings out Bolingbroke's promptitude in taking instant advantage of Richard's departure for Ireland (cf. II. 3. 79).

228. *great*, big with emotion, to which he is too cautious to give vent in words. Cf. the scene in *Julius Caesar* (I. 3) where Cassius sounds Casca as to joining the conspiracy against Caesar. *break*; cf. *Hamlet*, I. 2. 159, "But break my heart; for I must hold my tongue."

232. *Tends that to?* Does it refer to?

237. The line implies more clearly than his previous words censure of Richard's action and encourages Northumberland to speak out.

239. *In him*, in his case or person. *me*; see G.

242. *what they will inform*, anything that they choose to report as informers (Lat. *delatores*).

244. *prosecute*, follow up, act on.

245. *and our heirs*. Cf. Holinshed. "Manie other things were doone in this parlement [1397], to the displeasure of no small number of people; namelie, for that diuerse *rightfull heirs were disheritall* of their

lands and livings." Practically, the Parliament of 1397 did what the king told it to do.

246. "Large grants had been obtained from his Parliaments by Richard; and the oppressive poll-tax—to which we may suppose Ross refers—caused the commons' rebellion in 1381"—*Stone*. John of Gaunt was in power when (1380) the tax was imposed.

pill'd, plundered, fleeced. See G.

247, 248. There is perhaps some corruption of the text. Some editors omit the first *quite*, to make the metre smoother.

the nobles hath he fined. Richard in 1399 levied fines on 17 counties for having helped the Lords Appellant in 1387. Holinshed says, "The payment of these fines was called a *plesance* as it were to please the K. withall, but ye same *displeased manie*."

250. Scan "As blánk | benév' | lence(s) and | I wót | not whát "; the *es* in the 3rd foot being slurred as if the word were singular. *blanks*, the "blank charters" of I. 4. 48.

benevolences, compulsory gifts; strictly, the name belonged to a later time. "*Benevolences* were first exacted by Edward IV., 1473, though their prototype of *forced loans* had been levied by Henry III., Edward II., and Richard II.; they were supposed to be 'free gifts,' but were really more or less compulsory. They were raised by Henry VII....chiefly by the aid of Archbishop Morton, the inventor of the dilemma of *Morton's Fork*, i.e. if a man lived sumptuously, he was told that his wealth was apparent; if sparingly, that his economy must have enabled him to lay by great store of riches; in either case his gift must be large"—*Feilden*. They were not formally abolished till 1628. Edward IV. called these grants by rich men *benevolences*, but many who gave unwillingly thought *malevolences* a better term (Holinshed).

251. *this*, the money raised by these means.

253, 254. "Shakespeare may have been thinking of Richard's cession [1397] of Brest to John Duke of Brittany"—*Stone*. Stubbs also mentions the surrender of Cherbourg to the King of Navarre. The cession of these towns led to dispute between Richard and Gloucester.

achieved, won; see G.

256. *in farm*; see I. 4. 45, note.

257. *broken*; the common word in Shakespeare for 'become bankrupt'; cf. *As You Like It*, II. 1. 57, "that poor and broken bankrupt there."

258. *hangeth*; singular because the two subjects=one idea, viz. 'disgraceful ruin.'

265. *sit*; used of the wind blowing steadily in a certain direction. Cf. *Hamlet*, I. 3. 56, "The wind sits in the shoulder of your sail." Cf. II. 2. 121.

266. *we strike not*, we do not lower our sails. *securely*, carelessly, i.e. taking no measures to save themselves; see G.

268. *unavoided*, inevitable; see G.

270, 271. i.e. even at the very last gasp, though things seem desperate, I perceive a ray of hope.

272. *is*; singular because *tidings*, like *news*, is singular in sense = intelligence (278).

275. *are but thyself*, are of the same mind as you in this matter.

276. i.e. his words will not get him into any more trouble than unspoken thoughts would; they are as safe as thoughts.

278. i.e. in western Brittany ("Bretagne" in 285).

280. Malone inserted the line "The son of Richard Earl of Arundel." Holinshed makes it plain that the description "That late broke" etc. was meant to apply to this Thomas Arundel, nephew of the Archbishop. Holinshed relates his escape from the Duke of Exeter's house; and mentions his name in the list of those who accompanied Bolingbroke, and it is the only one not given in this passage as originally printed. Further, the Archbishop was (also) *Thomas Arundel*, and "His brother" could only be *Richard Earl of Arundel*, whose name must have occurred in the missing line.

282. *late of Canterbury*; Thomas Arundel, the Archbishop, had been banished in 1397, when his brother the Earl was executed for his action as one of the Lords Appellant.

286. *tall*; a common epithet for a ship = large, fine; cf. "yond tall anchoring bark," *King Lear*, IV. 6. 18.

287. *expedience*, haste; cf. *expedient*, I. 4. 39.

289, 290. *had*, would have. Holinshed says that Bolingbroke's reason for not landing at once was that he wished to see how the people would receive him. See **Extract 8**, last lines.

291. *shall*, mean to; stronger than *will*.

292. *Imp out*, repair; a metaphor from falconry; see G.

293. *broking pawn*, the state of being pledged as to a pawnbroker. The crown is *in pawn* because its powers are pledged, "leased out," to those who are "farming" the realm. Cf. the metaphor in "redeem," still the words used of taking an article out of pawn. The change of metaphor in 293 from 292 is remarkable even for Shakespeare.

296. "*Ravenspurg* (also called *Ravensburg*, *Ravenspurn*, etc.) was

an important port at the mouth of the Humber, sheltered from the sea by the point now known as Spurn Head. In 1346 it had suffered so much from the inroads of the sea that the merchants residing there removed to Hull. The high tides of 1357 and subsequent years swept away nearly all that remained of the town, and but few vestiges of the ancient port could have been left at the time of Bolingbroke's landing. In 1471, Edward IV. also landed here, after his brief exile in Holland" —*Rolfe*.

300. *Hold out*, if he holds out, does not tire.

Scene 2.

The Queen's sadness is no doubt meant to foreshadow the disasters that follow. Exactly similar is the apparently causeless sadness of Antonio at the beginning of *The Merchant of Venice*; cf. his first words, "In sooth, I know not why I am so sad." So the Queen "knows no cause" (6). One view is that in each case (and we might add Shylock's forebodings in *The Merchant*, II. 5. 16—18, Hamlet's before the duel, v. 2. 222—235) the feeling of depression is meant to illustrate the mysterious idea that "Coming events cast their shadows before." Another view is that the mood is attributed to a character, purely for dramatic effect, as though a dramatist had the right to arrange the outset of a scene or episode in such a way as best to harmonise or contrast with what follows. Personally I cannot help thinking that, while desire of dramatic effect is the motive for *emphasising* the mood, yet some natural explanation of it, arising out of the circumstances, is also possible. Depression may be due to the unconscious influence of events and surroundings on a sensitive nature. Here for instance the young Queen is sad at the recent parting from Richard; further, she may well have a feeling, after York's words (II. 1. 200—214) which she heard, that dangers are threatening her husband and things in general are going ill; and this feeling is intensified by loneliness into a state of general unrest, a nervous expectancy of ill.

3. Note the very true idea that depression of spirit ("heaviness") has an evil effect physically. There was an element of truth in the old medical idea that every sigh or groan cost the person a drop of blood. For depression acts on the heart, the great blood-vessel of the body, and "broken hearts" are literally a cause of death.

4. *entertain*, maintain, keep up; *disposition*, mood.

12. *nothing*, i.e. "the *unborn sorrow*, which she calls *nothing*, because it is not yet brought into existence"—*Steevens*.

14—27. The fantastic style is perhaps meant to be characteristic of an affected courtier; cf. Osric in *Hamlet*.

14. 'Every real grief has twenty unreal imitations of itself, mere appearances ("shadows") that resemble grief.' Cf. IV. 1. 296, 297.

15. *shows...is*; singular, in agreement with the sense 'each of which.'

16, 17. i.e. sorrow's eye being blurred with tears sees the cause of sorrow multiplied, just as the natural eye when dimmed with moisture sees an object multiplied. It is a strained way of saying that sadness is reflected in everything. Cf. Crabbe's picture in *Tales of the Hall* of a despairing man gazing on a landscape in which all the objects seem to reproduce his despair:

"All these were sad in nature, or they took
Sadness from him, the likeness of his look,
And of his mind."

18. *perspective*; an Elizabethan term for any sort of puzzle which, when looked into, deceived the eye. The kind of puzzle here meant is illustrated by the passage which Staunton quotes from Plot's *Natural History of Staffordshire* (1686): "At the right Honourable the Lord Gerard's at Gerards Bromley, there are the pictures of Henry the Great of France and his Queen, both upon the same indented board, which if beheld directly, you only perceive a confused piece of work; but if obliquely, of one side you see the king's and on the other the queen's picture." More often *perspective* was used of "a glass cut in such a manner as to produce an optical deception, when looked through"—*Schmidt*; so possibly here (cf. "glazed" in 16), as in *Twelfth Night*, v. 224. Scan *perspectives*.

rightly gazed upon, looked straight into; opposed to *eyed awry* (19), viewed sideways, askew.

20. *Distinguish form*, describe a pattern, mark out a clear design.

22. *Find*; the verb is attracted to "your" in 20, 21.

23. *Which*, i.e. 'which collection of apparent griefs.'

27. *for things true*, as if they were real causes of grief.

31. *on thinking*. Johnson proposed *in thinking*, with the sense, "though musing, I have no distinct idea of calamity." Rolfe says, "The sense is the same either way [with *on* or *in*]. The Queen means that she can fix her thoughts on nothing." Perhaps *on thinking* depends on *I think* (the inversion being due to the rhyme), and she

means 'though I try to keep my thoughts from dwelling on any particular subject of thought'; implying one which might cause grief, e.g. Richard's departure.

32. *heavy nothing*, i.e. vague, undefined despondency.

33. '*Tis nothing but conceit*, it is all a fancy. *conceit*; see G.

34—40. The quibbling is meant to suggest her state of apprehension. Cf. Portia when Bassanio is about to make his choice of the caskets (*The Merchant of Venice*, III. 2. 26—33).

34. *nothing less*, far from being mere fancy. *still*, always.

36. *something*, i.e. real, actual, though indefinable.

37. *hath*, i.e. something *hath begot* this grief which seems to have no cause.

38. *in reversion*, destined to be hers later on. "As the grief the Queen felt was for some event which had not yet come to pass, or at least not yet come to her knowledge, she expresses this by saying that the grief which she then actually *possessed* was still *in reversion*, as she had no right to feel the grief until the event should happen which was to occasion it"—*Mason*. Strictly of course *in reversion* (see I. 4. 35) and *that I do possess* are a contradiction in terms.

46. *retired*, brought back; rarely transitive, like F. *retirer*.

49. *repeals*, recalls from exile; see G. The reflexive emphasises the idea that Bolingbroke has taken the matter into his own hands.

52. *that*; the demonstrative; cf. *The Tempest*, III. 2. 106, 107:

"And *that* most deeply to consider is
The beauty of his daughter."

i.e. that *that* is. So in "we speak *that* we do know." The omission of *that* (relative) was probably due, for emphasis, to its identity with *that* (demonstrative). See Abbott, p. 164.

53. *young Henry Percy*; the Hotspur of *Henry IV*.

57. So the 1st Quarto, making *rest* a sort of adjective=remaining, other. Mr Marshall compares the use of *remainder* as an adjective in *As You Like It*, II. 7. 39, "as dry as the remainder biscuit." The 2nd Quarto and Folios have "And the rest of the revolted."

58—61. Holinshed says that Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, the Steward of the Royal Household, "brake his white staffe (which is the representing signe and token of his office)" in the presence of the king's servants, i.e. to show that he released himself and them from their duties. His reason is given more fully in II. 3. 26—30.

62, 63. Reverting to the metaphor of lines 10, 11. *heir*, offspring.

67. *cozening*, deceiving, cheating; see G.

69. *dissolve*; in its literal sense 'to unloose' = Lat. *dissolvere*.
70. *which*, i.e. life. *lingers*, protracts, causes to drag on.
72. *signs of war*, i.e. armour, etc.
73. *careful*, full of care, anxious.
74. *comfortable*, full of comfort, comforting; as it is used in the Prayer-Book. See G.
77. *crosses*, troubles, vexations.
83. *try*, put to the trial (and find how little they are worth). As he speaks, York looks contemptuously at the favourites.
84. Aumerle had gone to join Richard at Dublin.
85. *Why, so!* i.e. *so be it*. "An expression of content or unwilling acquiescence"—*Schmidt*; here the latter.
86. The line may be an Alexandrine (six feet). Some omit the second *they are*, ending with the rough alliteration *the commons cold*.
88. *Plashy*. Really the duchess died at Barking, on October 3, 1399, several months after the historical time of the scene. The object of mentioning her death here is to emphasise the impression of the tide of trouble which is overwhelming the royal house. It is placed at Plashy because of I. 2. 66.
89. *Bid her send me*; see I. 2. 67, note. *presently*, at once.
90. *take my ring*; to show the duchess that York sent him.
96. *God for his mercy!* The ellipse is "*I pray God for.*"
98. The speech is very characteristic of York, a well-meaning but weak man suddenly confronted with a terrible crisis, where it is not absolutely clear to him which way his duty lies (109—113).
99. *So*, provided that. *untruth*, disloyalty; cf. II. 1. 192.
100. *brother's*, i.e. Gloucester's; he is said to have been smothered.
101. *are there no posts?* so the 1st Quarto; corrupted in the other Quartos to *are there two posts?* The editors of the 1st Folio saw that *two* made nonsense, and printed *are there posts?* But probably Shakespeare was referring in *no posts* to Holinshed's account how at the time of Bolingbroke's landing the Irish Channel was so rough and the wind contrary that "for the space of six weeks" Richard in Ireland had no news from England. *Now*, however, the wind is favourable (121), and York thinks that they should take immediate advantage of it.
103. *sister*; he is thinking of the duchess still. *cousin*, niece.
106. Apparently this and line 116 are instances of the omission of an initial syllable, the line being scanned "- gen|tlemen | will you" | etc. See I. 1. 20, note. Some scan *gentlemen* as a dissyllable (like the vulgar pronunciation of the word) and transfer *If I* from 107

to this line. The change also simplifies the scansion of 107. The irregular rhythm of the whole passage marks the agitation of the speaker—*Collier*.

109. Scan "Néver | believe | me. Bó|th áre | my kins(men)."

111. *bids*; singular, one idea being conveyed by the two subjects.

115. *Dispose of you*, see that you are conducted to a place of safety; evidently meaning his own house (III. I. 35).

120. *at six and seven*; as we say, *at sixes and sevens*.

122. *power*, forces; more often in the plural.

124. *unpossible*. The prefix *un* was then used with many words where *in* or *im* is now current.

126. i.e. brings us into conflict with those *who* do not love.

127. *wavering*, fickle.

131. *in them*, in the hearts of the commons (= "wherein" in 130). *so do we*, i.e. "stand condemn'd." Holinshed mentions the "great and priuie hatred" which "the commons undoubtedlie bare" against these favourites of Richard.

133. Holinshed described how these favourites "slipped awaie," leaving York "to make what shift he could" for himself.

135. *office*, service.

136. *hateful*; Schmidt says 'full of hate'; but it may well express the favourites' view of the people and so have its usual sense 'odious.'

140. *presages*; with the older accentuation *préságe* = Lat. *preságium*; now *présage*.

141. Cf. the first line of *Macbeth*, "When shall we three meet again?" ("we" being the Witches).

142. *thrives to*, succeeds in.

144. Proverbial figures for a hopeless task.

146, 147. The rhyme emphasises the close not only of the scene but of their companionship and present life.

Scene 3.

3. *a stranger here*; naturally a northerner like the head of the Percies would not be familiar with this west country.

4. *These...hills*, the Cotswold range; cf. 9. The reference in 51—53 to Berkeley Castle (the scene of Edward II.'s murder) shows that the speakers are riding through that beautiful S.W. part of the range looking down on the valley of the Severn, south-west of Stroud. The northern extremity of the Cotswolds runs right up towards Stratford,

and Shakespeare, as a boy, must have seen the famous coursing matches on the Cotswolds; cf. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, I. 1. 92, where Master Page's "fallow greyhound" is said to have been "outrun on *Cotsall*" (a corruption of *Cotswold*). One of Justice Shallow's friends at the bar was "a Cotswold man," 2 *Henry IV.* III. 2. 23. Other references prove that S. knew the Cotswolds well, especially this S.W. district through which Bolingbroke is riding, as the poet himself, I doubt not, had ridden. A Shakespeare family long settled at Dursley claimed kinship with him, and ancient tradition said that he visited his Dursley relatives, a particular spot in one of the woods there being called "Shakespeare's Walk." This Cotswold phase of Shakespeare's life was first worked out fully in *The Diary of Master William Silence* by Mr Justice Madden. Gloucestershire readers will not forget the imaginary scene in that delightful book, *A Cotswold Village* (Gibbs).

5. *Draws...makes*. Here, if ever, we have examples of the "northern plural" (see p. 234), there being two subjects each in the plural. Some, however, take the verbs as singular in agreement with the sense, 'the difficulty (or tedious length) of these hills.'

9. *Cotswold*, spelt *Cotshall* in the Quartos; cf. *Cotsall* (no doubt the local pronunciation familiar to Shakespeare) in *The Merry Wives* passage. For another Gloucestershire provincialism cf. v. 6. 3.

12. *process*, long course; rather implying a *wearisome* course.

15. *to joy*, to enjoy; cf. "enjoy'd" in 16. So in v. 6. 26.

41—44. For his "service" to Bolingbroke as Henry IV. we must turn to 1 *Henry IV.*, where none is bitterer than this Henry Percy (Hotspur). See his description of this very meeting with the "vile politician Bolingbroke," 1 *Henry IV.* I. 3. 239—256.

48. *ripens*; echoing Percy's words (43).

49, 50. *still, ever. my hand thus seals it*; taking Percy by the hand.

51—53. An exact description of the Castle, "with its ancient cluster of thick lofty trees," as seen from Stinchcombe Hill (not 2 miles off), which is (beyond dispute) "the hill" of 2 *Henry IV.* v. 1. 41. It is a short walk from Dursley.

56. *estimate*, estimation, repute.

61. *unfelt*, not tangible. *which*, i.e. "treasury," or "thanks."

66, 67. The metaphor of an heir not yet of age and so not in possession of his property. *Stands for*, does duty for, represents.

70. *my answer is—"to Lancaster,"* i.e. my answer is that your message is addressed "to Lancaster" (emphatic). Staunton explains, "my answer will be given only to the title of *Lancaster*." Either way,

Bolingbroke means that he claims his title "Duke of Lancaster" and is no more merely "Hereford." It is characteristic of his shrewdness and decision that he defines his position at once by declaring plainly the (nominal and most plausible) motive of his return.

75. *raze*, erase.

79. *the absent time*, the time of the king's absence.

80. Cf. I. 3. 132—138. *native*; "pertaining to home" and so here "domestic"—*Schmidt*.

self-born, literally 'begotten of yourself'=taken up on your own initiative. Some interpret it 'home-sprung, native, indigenous.' Only the later Folios have *self-born*; the 1st and 2nd and the Quartos have *self-borne*, which a few editors keep with the sense 'borne selfishly,' or 'borne for yourself' (not for the king). The distinction between *born* and *borne* is not recognised in the original editions of Shakespeare.

84. *duty*, respect, reverence. *deceivable*, deceptive. Cf. *Twelfth Night*, IV. 3. 20, 21, "there's something in't That is deceivable."

87. *Grace me no grace*, do not call me "gracious." The form of the phrase, expressing strong, contemptuous dissent from something just said, was common. Cf. *Roméo and Juliet*, III. 5. 153, "Thank me no thankings, nor proud me no prouds."

92. *But then more "why?"* but then there are more questions to ask.

95. *despised*, despicable, contemptible. York affects at first to ridicule Bolingbroke as a "foolish boy."

96. *anointed*; cf. I. 2. 38; II. 1. 98.

100—102. No historical basis for this has been found.

104. *palsy*, a contraction of *paralysis*; used = weakness, debility, especially of old age. Shak. always accents *châstise*; cf. *John*, II. 117.

107. i.e. of what quality is it, wherein does it consist? Johnson proposed *in* for *on* = "*in* what degree of guilt?" But the cognates *in* and *on* were much the same in sense; cf. "*on* earth, as it is in heaven."

109. *detested*, detestable. Lear calls Goneril a "detested kite" (I. 4. 284). For the termination *ed*=*able* cf. *despised* in 95 and see *unavoided* in the Glossary.

112. *braving*, defiant; with something too of the notion of *bravado*. Cf. the noun in *The Taming of the Shrew*, III. 1. 15, "Sirrah, I will not bear these braves of thine."

114. *for Lancaster*, to assume the title and rights of Lancaster. Or simply 'as Lancaster.'

116. *indifferent*, impartial, making no distinction between the

persons concerned. Cf. the Prayer for the Church Militant, "that they may truly and indifferently [Lat. *indifferenter*] minister justice."

117—128. York had appealed to Gaunt's memory (100), and now Bolingbroke cleverly turns the appeal against York himself.

122. *upstart*. It was often one of the grievances of the great peers that the favourites of kings were men of humble birth. This point is prominent in Marlow's *Edward II.*, where the barons scorn Gaveston as "base and obscure" (I. 1. 100), a "peasant" (I. 2. 30; I. 4. 14).

unthrifts, greedy spendthrifts. *Wherefore was I born?* "To what purpose serves birth and lineal succession?"—*Johnson*.

123, 124. Here again York's own argument (II. 1. 198, 199) recoils on himself. Only he thinks that Bolingbroke should not have carried things so far in asserting his claims. *If that*; see I. 1. 129.

128. A metaphor from stag-hunting. *rouse*; the technical term for driving an animal from its lair. Cf. *Cymbeline*, III. 3. 98, "Hark, the game is roused!" *bay*; see G. Apparently *wrongs* = wrongdoers, i.e. abstract for concrete—the general sense being that Gaunt would have assailed and hunted down those who were wronging Aumerle.

129, 130. See the notes on II. 1. 202—204.

131. *distrain'd*, forcibly seized, taken possession of, by the officers of the crown; a legal term.

134. *challenge*, claim as my right.

136. *free*, i.e. free from any flaw; practically = direct, legitimate.

137. *abused*, unfairly treated.

138. *It stands...upon*, it is incumbent on, it is your duty to. Cf. *Richard III.* IV. 2. 59, 60:

"About it! for it stands me much upon,

To stop all hopes whose growth may damage me."

139. Cf. Bolingbroke's words, III. 1. 21. *endowments*, revenues.

142. *laboured all I could*, i.e. by protesting to Richard (II. 1. 189—214).

143. *in this kind*, in such a style as this. *braving*; cf. 112.

148, 149. Cf. I *Henry IV.* IV. 3. 54—88, where Hotspur narrates how Bolingbroke landed at Ravenspur, vowed that "He came but to be Duke of Lancaster," and on this understanding received the support of Northumberland and other peers, but afterwards "proceeded further" in his ambitions. Holinshed says that Bolingbroke also "undertook to bring the King to good government" and effect various reforms. See **Extract 10**.

154. *ill left*, ill provided.

156. *attach*, arrest; see G.

157. York cannot get over the fact that after all Richard is king.

159. *neuter*, neutral; they are "nor friends nor foes" (170).

165. *Bagot*; but see II. 2. 139. *complices*, accomplices, associates. Cf. *Edward II.* II. 2. 263, "Have at the rebels and their complices!"

166. *caterpillars*; a favourite Elizabethan term for 'greedy parasites,' who prey upon the land. Cf. 2 *Henry VI.* III. 1. 90.

168. *yet I'll pause*; putting off the unpleasantness of deciding. How true it all is to life!

Scene 4.

See **Extract 11** from Holinshed.

2. *hardly*, with difficulty.

8—11. Johnson says, "This enumeration of prodigies is in the highest degree poetical and striking." It imports a sense of mystery and awe, and raises the tragedy to a loftier plane. The very heavens are telling the downfall of the king. Note how the speech fits the representative of the imaginative and superstitious Celtic race; compare Glendower in 1 *Henry IV.*

8. This is the line that proves that Shak. used the 2nd edition of Holinshed. Editors quote illustrations of the superstition that the withering of the laurel-tree (being the tree symbolical of victory) is a bad omen, e.g. from Evelyn's horticultural treatise *Sylva*:

"Amongst other things, it has of old been observed that the bay is ominous of some funest [Lat. *funestus*, fatal, calamitous] accident, if that be so accounted which Suetonius (in *Galba*) affirms to have happened before the death of the monster Nero, when these trees generally withered to the very roots in a very mild winter; and much later, that in the year 1629, when at Padua, preceding a great pestilence, almost all the bay trees about that famous university grew sick and perished."

9. *meteors*, also called "exhalations," and thought to be portentous; cf. 1 *Henry IV.* II. 4. 351—354, "do you see these meteors? do you behold these exhalations?...what think you they portend?" They are among the portents that precede Cæsar's (II. 1. 44) murder.

10. *looks*; the regular word for the "aspect" of the heavenly bodies which was supposed by astrologists to exercise an "influence"

on the earth and its inhabitants; cf. *The Winter's Tale*, II. 1. 105—107:

"There's some ill planet reigns:

I must be patient till the heavens *look*

With an *aspect* more favourable."

11. *lean-look'd*, lean-looking.

14. Understand *in hope* from *in fear to* (13).

15. An ancient superstition. Cf. Calpurnia's words when she urges Caesar, because of the strange "signs" in the heavens, not to go to the Senate-house (II. 2. 30, 31):

"When beggars die, there are no comets seen;

The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes."

17. *well assured*, quite certain.

20. The rhythm, especially the inverted stress in *fills to*, suggests rapid descent. Cf. the line "Dropt from the zenith, like a falling star," in the description of Mulciber's fall from heaven, *Paradise Lost*, I. 745. The faculty of making the sound echo the sense is one of Milton's great metrical gifts.

21—24. Note the peculiar elegiac effect of the rhyme, as if the lines were an epitaph on Richard's fallen greatness.

21. *Thy sun*, the sun of Richard's prosperity. One is reminded of the picture of Napoleon as a prisoner on board the English man-of-war gazing at the sunset which symbolises his own downfall.

weeping, i.e. with a watery, rainy appearance. Observe how the alliterated *w* emphasises the pathetic expression of the lines.

22. *Witnessing*, showing that storms etc. are coming.

ACT III.

Scene 1.

The significance of the scene lies in its marking Bolingbroke's assumption of the functions of regal power, i.e. in sentencing the favourites. "His coming" is not limited to its first nominal scope (II. 3. 148, 149). Cf. Hotspur's words, I *Henry IV.* IV. 3. 85—88, and see **Extract 12** from Holinshed.

3. *presently*, immediately. *part*, part from (F. *partir*), leave.

It is transitive again in *Pericles*, v. 3. 38. Cf. in the Prayer-Book "all thy servants departed this life." Shakespeare often omits the preposition with verbs of motion 'to' or 'from.'

4. *urging*, mentioning, dwelling upon.

5, 6. *charity*, kindness. The same reference as in iv. 1. 239, 240.

9. *A happy gentleman in*, i.e. a gentleman happy (=fortunate) in. Such inversions of the natural order of words were common; cf. *Paradise Lost*, 1. 206, "With fixed anchor in his scaly rind," i.e. with anchor fixed in. *lincaments*; an allusion to Richard's personal beauty.

10. *clean*, utterly, entirely; see G.

11. *in manner*, in a way; as it were.

12. The charge is not to be taken as historical.

17. Cf. 1. 4, where we saw how the favourites had evidently been biassing Richard against Bolingbroke.

19. *in*, into.

20. The alliteration emphasises the "bitterness."

21. *signories*, estates, manors; see G.

22. *Dispark'd*. A legal term for divesting a *park* of its distinctive character, and turning it into a common, by the destruction of its enclosures and coverts for game—*Malone*.

23. *household coat*, the family coat of arms emblazoned on the windows (as on the windows of College halls at the Universities).

24. *razed*; cf. 11. 3. 75. *impres*, crest, heraldic device with motto (Bolingbroke's being "Souveraine"); see G. Steevens quotes from an old book (1585) on heraldry that "the arms &c. of traitors may be defaced and removed, wheresoever they are fixed, or set." "A knowledge of heraldry was deemed in the sixteenth century a necessary part of a gentleman's education"—*Shakespeare's England*, 1916, 11. 77.

30—33. Each has something of the reckless, defiant indifference of Gaveston in *Edward II*. Marlowe in fact had fixed the type of court-favourite in literature. *injustice*, those who treat us so unjustly.

35. *your house*, i.e. Langley; cf. 111. 4.

42. The line has been condemned by some as spurious because (1) it spoils the rhymed *couplet* which 41 and 43 might have been intended to form; (2) the reference to Glendower is unhistorical: his rebellion, which is a prominent feature of 1 *Henry IV*., did not commence till the summer of 1400, nearly a year after these events. Now Holinshed states that Glendower "serued King Richard at Flint Castell" at the time when what is related in 111. 3, took place; so it is thought that

Shakespeare may mean to imply that Glendower had taken up arms for Richard and was indeed the "Welsh Captain" of II. 4. It is certainly significant that Bolingbroke departs with a reference to "Glendower and his complices" and at his next appearance in Wales (III. 3. 1, 2) begins with a reference to the dispersed army of Welshmen.

Scene 2.

The time of this scene is immediately after II. 4; cf. "yesterday" in 69, the day of the dispersal of the army which was still "kept together" in II. 4.

Observe the dramatic "irony"; also the stages of the overthrow of Richard's hopes. First he hears of the dispersal of the Welsh army, is cast down, yet recovers his spirit; then of Bolingbroke's triumphant progress, which makes him lose confidence again (cf. "if we prevail," 126); then of the death of the favourites, at which he is overwhelmed with grief and despair, till Carlisle's reproof and Aumerle's mention of York kindle a last flash of pride and hope; then of York's desertion, which "kills his heart."

1. *Barkloughly*; cf. Holinshed, "They landed neere the Castell of *Barclowlie*," which was a mistake for *Ilertlowli*=*Harlech* Castle in Merionethshire. Some of the old chroniclers say that Richard landed at Pembroke, others again at Milford—*Stone*.

2. *brooks*, likes; commonly 'to suffer, tolerate.'

3. Scan "Áfter your | late tós|sing ðn | the bréák|ing séas"; a final *er* is often slurred thus before a vowel or *h*.

4. The speech illustrates an aspect of Richard's character which now, under the stress of adversity, becomes conspicuous, viz. his sentimental effeminacy. He has a certain love of his *land*, which he personifies and regards as a being separate from his *people*; but the love finds vent in weakly-pretty, fantastic exaggerations. Even he feels that his "senseless conjuration" (23) excites the pitying scorn of the strong men about him.

8. i.e. a mother long parted *from* her child. For the inversion of order cf. III. 1. 9, note. 11. *do thee favours*, caress thee.

15. *loads*; then thought venomous; cf. *As You Like It*, II. 1. 13. *their*, i.e. of his enemies, who are present to his thoughts (cf. 18), though he has only spoken of his chief "foe," viz. Bolingbroke.

16. *annoyance*; a stronger word than =harm; see G.

21. *double*, forked; cf. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. 2. 9,

"You spotted snakes with double tongue." *mortal*, deadly; cf. "mortal taste" in *Paradise Lost*, I. 2, said of the fruit of the forbidden Tree (*Genesis* ii. 17).

22. *Throw*, cast, spit, i.e. in its venom.

23. *senseless*, which you think foolish. *conjunction*, appeal.

24, 25. Cf. Antony's great speech in *Julius Caesar*, III. 2, where he says that had he the eloquence of Brutus he would move "The stones of Rome to rise and mutiny" (234).

27—32. Carlisle's conception of monarchy is, that it has a divinely appointed origin and support, but must make due use of the human instruments and means which Providence places at its disposal. "*Help thyself*, and Heaven will help thee" is his counsel to Richard, who forgets the first part of the proverb.

The bishop was Thomas Merke, a man much thought of; appointed bishop of Carlisle in 1397.

29. *embraced*, seized, taken advantage of.

30. *would*, i.e. would help us.

33. Probably Richard shows surprise at Carlisle's hint that he is not doing all he might to resist Bolingbroke: hence Aumerle's explanation.

34. *security*, carelessness, not taking proper measures; see G.

36. *Discomfortable*, discouraging, making me feel uncomfortable.

37. *the eye of heaven*; cf. I. 3. 275.

38. *that*; referring to "the eye of heaven." Some would substitute *and. the lower world*, i.e. "the Antipodes" (49).

42. How vivid a picture, a landscape in a line: no conventional, well-worn piece of imagery, such as of the sun 'leaving the eastern gates.' *proud*, lofty; or perhaps 'proudly rejoicing in the sun's light, proud to be bathed in it first.'

49. Note the regal "we," "our." *with the Antipodes*; literally "among the people living on the opposite side of the globe." A common phrase then; cf. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, III. 2. 55. *Antipodes*; see G.

While Richard has been away in Ireland the sun of royalty has been hid from England: now it rises again.

53. *tremble at his sin*; echoing 46.

54—62. Richard's most characteristic and complete expression of his sense of the "divinity that hedges" a king—what Brandes happily calls "his monarchical fanaticism." Note the "irony" of situation here, that he gives vent to this triumphant confidence just when he is on the brink of knowing what the audience know already, and feel

that he must shortly know, viz. that the Welsh army on which his hope rests (cf. 76, 77) has dispersed. For similar "irony" of situation cf. *Julius Caesar*, III. 1, where Cæsar is made to use the most exalted language about himself when we know that he is on the very edge of destruction.

55. *balm*, the consecrated oil with which the sovereign is "anointed" at his coronation; see G.

56. *worldly*, mortal; in antithesis to the next line.

58. *press'd*, i.e. pressed into his service as soldiers, impressed. Cf. the 'press-gangs' for the navy. So in *Coriolanus*, III. 1. 122, "being press'd to the war." Richard deludes himself with the idea that the people have taken up arms unwillingly for Bolingbroke.

59. *shrewd*; used of steel it means 'sharp, keen-cutting,' a natural extension of the general sense 'bad,' since the sharper the sword the worse the wounds it inflicts. So in *Hamlet*, I. 4. 1, "the air bites shrewdly (i.e. sharply)," the particular badness meant is cold.

61, 62. The rhyme sums up, and closes the question.

Richard's great error, one feels, is that he makes reliance on the abstract idea of the "divine right" of kings a substitute for *personal* effort. From this point of view his character has the peculiar interest which belongs to those who personify an idea or embody a cause. Richard has been compared with Charles I.

76. *But now*, just now, but a few minutes ago. *twenty*; used indefinitely for a large number, as in II. 2. 14; IV. 38. The number in the 1st Folio, as in Holinshed, is *forty*. See **Extract 11**.

79. *dead*, deathlike. Cf. 2 *Henry IV*. I. 1. 71, "So dull, so dead in look, so woe-begone."

83. Perhaps no scene illustrates better Richard's extraordinary alternations of mood, and copious expression of the mood of the moment. "After the manner of weak characters, he is alternately downcast and overweening"—*Brandes*.

86. *puny*; see G.

89, 90. Here again his expression of confidence is "irony," since we know how groundless that confidence is.

91. "Sir Stephen Scroop, or Scrope, of Masham, elder brother to William, Earl of Wiltshire, was distinguished for his loyalty to Richard"—*Rolfe*.

91, 92. i.e. more prosperity than my tongue, which is attuned to speak of care (or regulated by care) can report to him.

94. *thou canst*, i.e. *that* thou canst; cf. II. 1. 173.

95. *care*; taking up Scroop's "care-tuned." Even at such a moment as this his fanciful mind breaks out into quibbling cleverness. In fact, disaster acts as a stimulus to his imagination; and "it is from the moment that the tide begins to turn against him that he becomes interesting as a psychological study"—*Brandes*.

99. *fellow*, equal.

102. *Cry woe*, proclaim loudly your message of woe: hesitate no longer, but let me know the worst.

103. Cf. *Edward II.* III. 3. 58, 59:

"The worst is death, and better die to live
Than live in infamy under such a king."

107. *silver*; cf. 1 *Henry IV.* III. 1. 102, "the silver Trent."

110. *fearful*, full of fear, dismayed.

112, 113. *White-beards*, i.e. old men. The 1st Folio has a quaint mistake—"white bears." *majesty*; 2 syllables, as in II. 1. 141.

114. *to speak big*, to talk in a man's voice. Cf. Portia's description how she and Nerissa will pretend to be young men (*The Merchant of Venice*, III. 4. 60 *et seq.*) *clap*, thrust; *clasp* is a needless change.

115. *in*, into.

116. *beadsmen*, almsmen, old pensioners; see G. *their bows*, i.e. the bows which they have taken up on this occasion.

117. *double-fatal*; "called so, because the leaves of the yew are poisonous, and the wood is employed for instruments of death," i.e. bows—*Warburton*.

118. i.e. even spinning women wield pikes that have grown rusty with long disuse.

122, 123. He mentions *four* favourites, yet in 132 says *three*; cf.

141. Now as Bagot had joined Richard in Ireland (II. 2. 139), the words *where is Bagot* seem a corruption, if not a slip of memory on Shakespeare's part. Theobald proposed *where is he got*—"into what corner of my dominions is he [the Earl of Wiltshire] slunk?"

125. *Measure*, pass through; like 'to measure a distance in travelling.' *peaceful*, i.e. meeting with no resistance.

131. A proverbial type of treacherous ingratitude; see v. 3. 58, and cf. 2 *Henry VI.* III. 1. 343, 344:

"I fear me you but warmed the starved snake,
Who, cherish'd in your breasts, will sting your hearts."

134. *spotted*, wicked; cf. *Titus Andronicus*, II. 3. 74, "Spotted, detested, and abominable." So Lat. *maculosus* = defiled. The metaphor is clearer in *spotless* = without stain, i.e. innocent.

135. *his*, its. *property*, character, distinctive quality. Cf. in the Prayer-Book, "whose property is always to have mercy."

For the sentiment of 135, 136 cf. Congreve's famous couplet in *The Mourning Bride*, III. 2 (end):

"Heaven has no rage like love to hatred turn'd,
Nor hell a fury like a woman scorn'd."

140. *graved*; used similarly ('entombed') in *Timon of Athens*, IV. 3. 166, "let...ditches grave you all."

141—143. For the moment Richard *cannot* speak. It is the silence that says more than eloquence.

141. *Is*. A singular verb preceding a plural subject is common; it is as if the speaker started without having settled precisely what the subject should be. See Abbott, pp. 237, 238.

144. The situation and Richard's speech recall the scene (II. 5) in 3 *Henry VI.* where the king has withdrawn from the battle and muses on the vanity of a king's life. Compare too the famous speech on "ceremony" in *Henry V.* IV. 1. 250 *et seq.* Richard's "brooding melancholy sometimes reminds us of Hamlet's"—*Brandes*.

146, 147. i.e. make the dusty ground serve as a paper on which to trace (with tear-drops) our sorrow.

153. *that model of*, that shape modelled out of earth, viz. the oval-shaped grave which marks, as it were, the outline of the body beneath it. Some explain *model*=measure, portion.

156. *sad stories of the death of kings*; "Shakespeare was probably thinking of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, with its 'tragedies' of *English* princes, Richard among the earliest of them"—*Gollancz*.

157. *some...deposed*. One may fairly suppose that Shakespeare's thoughts glanced, as he wrote these words, at Henry VI., whose fate he had told, and the unhappy king in Marlowe's tragedy *Edward II.*, which has so much in common with *Richard II.*

158. Probably Shakespeare had already written that scene in *Richard III.* (v. 3) where the ghosts of the king's victims appear to him on the eve of Bosworth. *the ghosts they have*, i.e. of those whom.

159. *sleeping kill'd*; like Hamlet's father and Duncan in *Macbeth*.

160. The imagery allegorises the hollow, transient nature of regal power. For the crown is the supreme symbol of that power; but Death makes the crown his dwelling-place and is thus its real master. The king only wears the crown by sufferance—so long as Death chooses.

161. *rounds*, encircles. Is Richard in this scene oppressed with the thought of Gloucester's death? e.g. in 158?

162. *the antic*, the buffoon (like a Court-jester). Cf. 1 *Henry VI.* iv. 7. 18, "Thou antic Death, which laugh'st us here to scorn."

"Douce suggests that this passage was suggested by one of the illustrations in the *Imagines Mortis*, improperly attributed to Holbein. The picture represents a king on his throne, with courtiers about him, while a grinning skeleton stands behind in the act of removing the crown from his head. Death is not *sitting in* the crown, as S. expresses it, though any one who looks carefully at the facsimile of the picture will see how the mistake originated. The skeleton, being directly *behind* the king, appears at first glance to be rising from the crown"—*Rolfe*. Representations of Death were common in Books of Emblems. Cf. "a bare-boned death" (*Lucrece*, 1761), i.e. skeleton figure of Death.

163, 164. i.e. laughing at the king's regal power; granting him a short while and a small stage on which to play his monarch's part.

166. *Infusing*, filling. *self and vain*, i.e. vain self-conceit.

168, 169. *and, humour'd thus*. There is no strict construction, nor need we expect one at the end of a long, passionate outburst. But the sense is clear: 'after the king has been humoured thus by Death, allowed for a while to play the monarch etc., then Death comes and makes an end of him.'

169, 170. i.e. Death bores just with a mere pin through that wall of flesh which the poor king believed to be as solid as brass. The imagery here differs from that of the earlier part of the passage, Death being now represented as an enemy outside a castle who makes a breach in the walls very easily.

171. They are standing with heads uncovered in the king's presence. *flesh and blood*, i.e. one who like yourselves is mere flesh and blood, not of "brass impregnable (168)."

173. *Tradition*; "traditional practices: that is, customary homage"—*Johnson*.

176. *subjected thus*, liable to all these needs and afflictions (i.e. those just described). There is also a quibble on the idea 'made a *subject*' (emphatic) by Bolingbroke's rise, and so no more "a king."

179. *presently*, at once. *prevent the ways to*, forestall the occasion to.

The bishop is ever practical in his advice.

180, 181. Fear paralyses a man's own strength and thus, as it were, increases his foe's strength—helps the foe to overcome him.

183—185. The sense seems to me to be: 'if you cannot help fearing, then better be slain outright (the worst result that can come of

fighting); for to die fighting is to destroy by physical death the moral death of living in constant fear of death: whereas to be always afraid of dying is to be the abject slave of death.' The sentiment is that attributed to Julius Cæsar (II. 2. 32, 33):

"Cowards die many times before their deaths;

The valiant never taste of death but once;"

where Shakespeare reproduced a famous remark of Cæsar made not long before his murder—that "it was better to die once, than always to be afraid of death." I think that *breath* in 185 has its common sense 'words' and that *pay servile breath to* is a figurative way of saying 'cringe to, be the slave of.'

185. Johnson explains *death destroying death* thus: "to *die fighting* is to return the evil that we suffer, to destroy the destroyers." On this Bishop Wordsworth comments: "Johnson's explanation implies that the fighting of one who is to be killed will necessarily involve killing his enemy. Perhaps the meaning intended is, that the man who fights and exposes himself to death, takes his death as it were into his own hands, and so deprives death of his victim, inasmuch as he victimises himself." I have ventured to dissent from both explanations.

186. *My father*, i.e. York; "our uncle," 192.

187. i.e. make the most of such forces as York has.

189. *change*, exchange. *day of doom*, the day that decides our fate.

194—197. A third quatrain; cf. 76—79. *complexion*, general appearance; a word of wider scope then. Cf. "the complexion of the element" = appearance of the sky, *Julius Cæsar*, I. 3. 128. *So may you*, i.e. judge.

198. *by small and small*, bit by bit.

199. *To lengthen out*, to defer, put off.

201. Understand *are* from *is* in 200.

203. *upon his party*, are on Bolingbroke's side.

204. *Beshrew*; see G.

211. See **Extract 13** (2nd paragraph, last lines).

211—213. i.e. "let them go to till the land, from which they may expect a better return than from serving a king whose cause is hopeless"—*Rolfe*. *ear*; see G. *that hath some hope to grow*, that is likely to prove productive.

Scene 3.

1, 2. See III. 1. 42, note. Line 24 rather implies that Bolingbroke had not come against Richard but against his Welsh supporters.

9. *should*, should have to. 10. *mistakes*; the *es* is sounded.

13, 14. *so brief*, so unceremonious, so 'short' (as we say).

to shorten, i.e. as to shorten you by the length of your head. *taking so the head*, taking away, omitting, his title 'king.' Perhaps too it has the quibbling sense 'taking the lead so, being so forward.'

17. *Lest you mistake*, lest you take what you have no right to (i.e. the crown) and thus make a grievous mistake: another quibble.

25. *lies*, is dwelling, resides; a common meaning then. When a king on one of his royal progresses through the country stayed at a place he was said to *lie* there. Cf. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, II. 2. 63, "the court lay at Windsor." Hence very appropriate here.

30. *belike*, very likely, probably.

33. *ribs*, walls; cf. *King John*, II. 384. *breath of parle*, i.e. a trumpet-note proclaiming a truce. Cf. the stage-direction at 61, and I. I. 192.

34. *his*, its, i.e. the castle's. *deliver*; cf. III. 2. 92.

36. *On both his knees*; a reminiscence of Holinshed; see **Extract 14**.

39. Note the natural transition from the formal 3rd person ("his knees" in 36) to the 1st ("my arms"); the 3rd person would be confusing after "his feet," i.e. Richard's.

40, 41. i.e. provided that my recall from banishment and the restoration of my lands be granted.

43. *the summer's dust*; showing the time of the year. Cf. 162. It was the third week of August, 1399. See **Extract 14**, first lines.

46. *should*, i.e. *that* such tempest should.

48. Cf. "on both his knees," 36, 114.

49, 50. Here Northumberland and other lords go in advance towards the castle. Bolingbroke's next words ("Let's march") are addressed to those who remain around him.

52. *tatter'd*, ragged, = "ruin'd" in 34. Quartos 1 and 2 have the other spelling *totter'd*. Cf. the cognate words Icelandic *töturr* and Norwegian *totror*, rags. Allied to the verb *totter*.

53. *appointments*, equipments; cf. *well-appointed* = well equipped, fitted out. *perused*, closely observed.

57. For this figurative use of *cheek*, cf. *Coriolanus*, V. 3. 151, "To tear with thunder the wide cheeks o' the air"; and *The Tempest*, I. 2. 4, "the sea, mounting to the welkin's cheek."

The whole comparison seems forced and characteristic of that strained, euphuistic style which we sometimes get in Shakespeare's earlier plays. One would have expected it rather from Richard than Bolingbroke.

61. *mark King Richard how he looks.* The same construction as "I know thee who thou art." The subordinate clause is like a second, explanatory object.

Enter on the walls, King Richard... See **Extract 14** (1st paragraph).

62—67. All the original editions give the speech to Bolingbroke; but the flattering picture of Richard is not appropriate to him. Probably the passage belongs to one of those who have gone in advance towards the castle—most editors think, to York. By an effective coincidence the speaker uses Richard's own simile (III. 2. 36—53).

66. *stain*, dim, mar; cf. 71. So in *Sonnet* 35, "Clouds and eclipses stain both moon and sun."

69. *eagle*; proverbial for clear, strong sight; cf. the tradition that eagles can gaze on the sun (3 *Henry VI.* II. 1. 91, 92).

70. *Controlling*, imperious, as of a ruler.

72. There is a pause before the king speaks. He waits for Northumberland to show him the customary sign of respect. But Northumberland's bearing is such as would be expected from his disrespectful reference (6) to his king. Note the regal *we*.

73. *fearful*, full of fear (as in III. 2. 110), like *awful*, full of awe, reverential in 76. Cf. Milton's *Nativity Ode*, 59, "And kings sat still with awful eye."

81. *profane*, commit the sacrilege of stealing what is "sacred" (80).

83. *torn*; perhaps = done violence to. Rolfe takes *have torn their souls* = "have perjured themselves," and thinks that the metaphor may be drawn "from the act of tearing a legal document."

87. *strike*, blast; the term for evil influences, e.g. of the stars or air; cf. Lear's curse on Goneril's unborn child (II. 4. 165, 166):

"Strike her young bones,

You taking [=blasting] airs, with lameness."

88, 89. *Your children...That*, the children of you who.

93, 94. *to ope...the testament of*. One interpretation is "to try what war will bequeath to him," i.e. see whether he is to gain the crown or not. Perhaps 'to begin the civil strife which will be a legacy to those who follow.' *purple* = blood-stained; as often. Cf. *Julius Caesar*, III. 1. 158, "your purpled hands," i.e. red with Caesar's blood. Cf. *πορφύρεον αἷμα* and *πορφύρεος θάνατος* in Homer, and Vergil's *purpurea mors*.

95, 96. *crown...crowns*; see II. 1. 74, note.

peace. Shakespeare knew full well that this was the thing that Bolingbroke never had from the day he was crowned. See Stubbs'

summary of all the difficulties that beset Henry IV. (*Constitutional History*, III. 8, 9).

97. i.e. shall disfigure the beauty of the land's surface. *flower*; in the figurative sense 'beauty,' not literally 'the flowery surface.'

102. *civil*, i.e. in civil war. *uncivil*, rude, rough.

105, 106. The tomb of Edward III. in Westminster Abbey.

113. *lineal*, hereditary. *royalties*; cf. II. I. 190.

114. *Enfranchisement*, restoration to all his rights and privileges. So in *Julius Cæsar*, III. I. 57, "To beg enfranchisement for Publius Cimber" (who had been exiled).

115. *party*, part, side.

116. *commend*, commit, deliver. *to rust*; cf. III. 2. 118.

117. *barbed*; armed and equipped; see G.

119. *just*, true, i.e. he has no designs beyond this.

121. *returns*, make answer; cf. I. 3. 122.

128. *fair*, in a friendly way.

136. Properly *sooth*=truth, from A. S. *sōð*, true, but there are places where it seems to have the idea 'sweetness.' So here *words of sooth* seems to mean 'words of sweetness=soft, flattering words.' Probably some confusion arose between the Middle E. forms of *sooth*, 'true,' and *sweet*. Thus from A.S. *swēte*, sweet, we get Middle E. *sweote*, *swote* and then *sote* or *soot*.

138. So Edward, having just resigned the crown, says:

"Come, death, and with thy fingers close my eyes,

Or if I live, let me forget myself" (*Edward II.* v. I. 110, 111).

140, 141. The mental excitement has produced a quickened action of the heart. For the bitter quibble *beat...beat*, cf. 95, 96.

143. *the King*; more impressive than *I*; cf. the impersonal way in which Julius Cæsar refers to himself as "Cæsar" (II. 2. 10, 29, 42, 44) in the 3rd person, as if "Cæsar" stood for some deity.

must he submit? Note again the fine effect of the 3rd person; implying that it is "the king," rather than Richard the man, who has to suffer. But naturally the speaker cannot keep up this detached way of looking at the situation, and soon breaks into the personal *I*. The repetition in 143—154 seems designed to convey an impression of utter misery, as if the spirit were dulled with pain. Cf. IV. I. 207—210 and the speech of the king in 3 *Henry VI.* II. 5. 21—40.

147. *a set of beads*, a rosary. *Bead* originally meant a prayer; afterwards the perforated balls used by Roman Catholics in counting their prayers were called *beads*.

149. Editors note that Holinshed and other chroniclers dwell particularly on Richard's great extravagance in the matter of dress for himself and his attendants. *an almsman's gown*, a uniform such as pensioners of certain institutions wear.

150. *figured*, designed with figures. Milton may have remembered this passage; cf. *Comus*, 390, 391:

"For who would rob a hermit of his weeds,
His few books, or his beads, or maple dish?"

For other recollections of *Richard II.* in Milton see l. 3. 26; 11. 1. 40.

151. A *palmer* was "one who bore a *palme-branch* in memory of having been to the Holy Land"—*Skeat*. One of Greene's lyrics, describing Love dressed as a pilgrim, has a pretty picture of a palmer on his journey:

"Down the valley gan he track,
Bag and bottle at his back,
In a surcoat all of gray;
Such wear palmers on the way,
When with scrip and staff they see
Jesus' grave on Calvary."

A common name for a pilgrim's staff was a *Jacob's staff* because St James, or Jacob, was the patron saint of pilgrims. He is usually represented with a pilgrim's hat and staff.

152. *saints*, images of saints in the cell of a religious recluse.

153. "His little kingdom of a forced grave" (*King John*, IV. 2. 98).

154. *obscure*; Scan *obscure*, an illustration of the rule that in Shakespeare and Milton words like *obscure*, *extrême*, *complète*, throw the accent on to the previous syllable when they are followed immediately by an accented syllable, e.g. a monosyllable like *grave*. Cf. *Lucrece*, 230, "And éxtrême fear can neither fight nor fly." So in *Comus*, 421, "She that has that is clad in cómplète steel."

155. *in the king's highway*; spoken with bitter emphasis: how fitting that the king should lie beneath his own highway!

156. *of common trade*, of much traffic to and fro. Schmidt says of "frequent resort and intercourse." The old sense of *trade* (from the past participle of *tread*) is 'a trodden path,' and the word keeps here something of the idea of *tread*.

162. *lodge*, lay, beat down, as rain and wind do. Cf. *Macbeth*, IV.

1. 55, "Though bladed corn be lodged and trees blown down."

167. *fretted us*, worn out for us; see G.

168, 169. The rhyme marks the imaginary epitaph on the grave—

"There lies etc." *lies*; another instance of a singular verb preceding its plural subject. Understand *who*.

175. i.e. if Northumberland, the "most mighty prince" and great friend of Bolingbroke, makes a bow to him and requests the favour ("give Richard leave" etc.), Bolingbroke cannot fail to say yes. The tone of 172—175 is intensely ironical.

176. *base*; in its literal sense 'low' (F. *bas*), the *base court* being the outer or lower court (F. *basse cour*) of a castle. The interview between Richard and Northumberland has taken place on the sort of balcony that there was at the back of the stage of an Elizabethan theatre. It served to represent "any place which was supposed to be separated from and above the scene of the main action."

178. *Phaethon*; "the shining" (Gk. *φαιθων*), son of Helios, the Gk. sun-god (=the Roman Sol). Phaethon wished to drive the chariot of the Sun across the heaven for one day, and at last his father let him try, but he could not "manage" the horses, who came so near to the earth as almost to set it on fire: whereupon Zeus killed him with a flash of lightning, and hurled him into the river Po—*Classical Dictionary*.

glistening; cf. the old form of the proverb, "All that glisters is not gold" (*The Merchant of Venice*, II. 7. 65).

179. *wanting the manage of*, unable to control. *manage*; this was the regular term for training and handling horses. Cf. the description in *Henry VIII.* v. 3. 21—24 how "wild horses" should be handled and controlled by the rider "Till they obey the manage." *jade*, a contemptuous word for a horse; here = a vicious nag.

180. 'Bolingbroke is in the *base court*, you say? A *base court*, truly, where a king has to *abase* himself thus!' See **Extract 15**.

184, 185. A clear case of two nouns (*sorrow and grief*) forming one idea and so taking a singular verb. *fondly*, foolishly; see G.

189. *Kneeling*; cf. Northumberland's words in 114.

190, 191. *debase...base*; cf. the quibble in 180.

192. *Me rather had*. This is a combination of two constructions, the personal and the impersonal: (1) *I had rather* = I should prefer (cf. *I had lief*, v. 2. 49), and (2) *me were rather* = to me it would be preferable; cf. the Middle E. phrase *me were lever* = to me it would be more pleasant (Germ. *lieber*). In (2) we get an example of those impersonal constructions, common in Middle E., which were becoming less familiar to the Elizabethans; see *methinks* in the Glossary. Thus for an impersonal construction turned into a personal, cf. *I were best* in *Cymbeline*, III. 6. 19, which in earlier English would have been *me were*

best = 'to or for me it were best.' See Abbott, pp. 152, 153. For *rather* see G.

195. *Thus high at least*; touching his head. 'Your aspirations reach as high as that (the crown), I am sure.' Practically Richard gives up the crown before Bolingbroke has hinted at claiming it, and his conduct may seem weak. But he sees that his cause is hopeless, and simply acknowledges the fact. He had a "peculiar power of accepting circumstances."

198. *redoubted*, dread; F. *redoubt*.

203. *want their remedies*, lack the means of curing that which causes them.

204, 205. Really Richard and Bolingbroke were of the same age. But it increases much the pathos that we should be made to think of Richard as the older man borne down by a young rival. The deposed king in *Edward II.* speaks of himself as "old Edward" (v. 3. 23), though he was but forty-three at the time of his death.

Scene 4.

Coleridge said of this scene: "Shakespeare's wonderful judgment appears in his historical plays, in the introduction of some incident or other, though no way connected, yet serving to give an air of historic fact. Thus the scene of the Queen and the Gardener realizes the thing, makes the occurrence no longer a segment, but gives an individuality, a liveliness and presence." A somewhat similar scene is *Julius Caesar*, II. 4, which depicts Portia, wife of Brutus, restlessly waiting to hear how the plot against Cæsar at the Capitol has gone.

Such side-scenes give us the impressions of those who are watching the course of events from a little distance, and we seem to join them as spectators: there, for instance, we cannot help feeling something of Portia's anxiety as she waits for news and suddenly thinks that she hears a sound from the direction of the Capitol. So here, where the Gardener and Servants talk about the unhappy state of England; as we hear their comments on contemporary events, those events appear much nearer to us and more vivid; we slip insensibly into the feelings of an onlooker — 'the man in the street' — 'the people.'

Langley; the Duke of York's palace near St Albans. We saw that York had sent the Queen thither (II. 2. 115, III. 1. 35).

3. *bowls*; a favourite Elizabethan game; cf. the frequent references to it in the dramatists and the common use of its terms.

4. *Rub* is the technical term in bowls for any obstacle which hinders the bowl from keeping on its proper course—e.g. an uneven bit of ground, a stone, etc. Hence the sense 'impediment, difficulty,' as in "There's the rub" (*Hamlet*, III. 1. 65). The Queen means that everything goes contrary, is at cross-purposes.

5. The *bias* (F. *biais*, sloping) is the leaden weight inserted in the side of the bowl to make it "run" in a slanting line and *incline* in a certain way. Hence the figurative use of *bias*=inclination, tendency. The Queen feels that her fortune runs counter to the prevailing tendency of things; as we say, 'things are going against her.'

7. There is a quibbling allusion to *measure*=a dance (as in I. 3. 291): she could not keep time if she tried to dance.

The characterisation of the Queen, though we see little of her, is very marked. She speaks always in a strained style, full of figures of speech. Perhaps she has imitated it from her husband.

11. *joy*; the original editions have *grief*, but cf. 13.

14. *remember*, remind; cf. I. 3. 269.

18. i.e. it is no use (cf. I. 3. 174) to complain of not having that which I lack, viz. joy.

22. *I could sing*. So all the original editions; Pope changed to *weep*. But the subtler reading of the Quartos and Folios seems more in harmony with the strained manner of the speaker and gives just the sort of antithesis to 21 that she would be likely to indulge in. It has been well explained thus, that the Queen emphasises *sing*, and means "I could even sing for joy if my troubles were only such as [mere] weeping could alleviate, and then I would not ask you to weep for me" (Cambridge Edd.). Another explanation of *sing* is, that the Queen has already shed so many tears herself that if weeping were any alleviation she would now be so comforted as to be able to sing.

A more difficult reading is likely to be correct, since the tendency of a copyist or printer is to substitute an easy reading. Most so-called emendations, in the case of writings ancient and modern, proceed from inability to perceive the author's sense, or from ignorance of some sort—e.g. of his language, metrical peculiarities, etc.

26. *My wretchedness unto*, i.e. she will wager her misery against.

28. *Against*, in anticipation of. *with woe*, i.e. with a public feeling of depression and presentiment (cf. II. 2).

29. *dangling*; because grown as "standard" trees, not trained, as now, against walls (a later, 17th century practice). See *Shakespeare's England*, 1916, I. 368—380, where it is shown that there was a great

development of the garden, especially the flower-garden, in the settled times of the Tudors (cf. Bacon's *Essay*), and that Shakespeare himself was evidently a garden-lover. *apricocks*, apricots; see G.

32. *bending*; with fruit, since the time is summer (III. 3. 43, 162).

33. The gardener's thoughts are filled with the political state of things: hence his simile.

35. *look*; probably in the two senses 'appear' and 'aspire too high.'

One is reminded of the story of Tarquin cutting off the tallest poppies as a hint how ambitious nobles should be treated.

40. How naturally the conversation is led up to—the metaphor exactly appropriate to the speakers and occasion.

in the compass of a pale, within the limits of an enclosure.

pale; cf. the "English pale" in Ireland.

43. *sea-walled*; cf. II. 1. 46, 47.

46. *knots*, beds; see G.

47. *caterpillars*; cf. II. 3. 166.

48. i.e. he who permitted *all* this disorder in the spring.

51. *in eating him*, while they were preying upon him. Rolfe says: "The allusion is to the farming of the land to the Earl of Wiltshire, who seemed to hold him up by supplying him with money, though really on usurious terms." But perhaps it only means that Richard had put his trust in the favourites until the time came to "try his friends" (II. 2. 83) and find how little support they were.

57. *at time*, i.e. at the right time.

60. *confound*, destroy, ruin.

68. *Depress'd*, brought low, humbled.

69. *'Tis doubt*; here implying rather probability than the reverse.

72. *press'd to death*; a reference to the "ancient legal punishment called *peine forte et dure*, which was inflicted on those persons who, being arraigned, refused to plead, remaining obstinately silent. They were *pressed to death* by a heavy weight laid upon their chest"—*Malone*. Cf. Milton's second epitaph (26) on Hobson, the Cambridge carrier, "As he were press'd to death, he cried, 'More weight.'"

73. *Adam*; proverbially the first of gardeners; cf. the doggerel, "When Adam delved and Eve span" etc. The Clown in *Hamlet*, v. 1. 35, called digging "Adam's profession."

to dress, to keep in order; as in *Genesis* ii. 15, "and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it."

74. An Alexandrine, I think.

75. *suggested*, tempted, incited; cf. I. 1. 101.

78. *thou, thou*, the repetition is contemptuous; cf. *The Tempest*, I. 2. 314 (Prospero calling Caliban), "Thou earth, thou! speak"; and III. 2. 29, 30, "thou deboshed fish, thou." Also Shakespeare generally makes a master address a servant and inferior by *thou*.

79. *Divine*, foretell.

80. 'To *come by*' is literally 'to come near,' hence to be in the way of acquiring, and so 'to get.'

83. *hold*, grasp.

86. *vanities*, i.e. the favourites contrasted with the great peers (88).

89. *odds*, advantage (cf. I. 1. 62), preponderance.

104. *fall*; for the transitive use 'let fall, drop,' cf. *Lucrece*, 1551, "For every tear he falls a Trojan bleeds."

105. *rue*. The popular name for *rue* was *herb of grace* or *herb-grace*, and the particular "grace" meant was repentance, since it was supposed that the name of the plant came from the verb *rue*=to repent. Repentance and remembrance are closely akin, and here *rue* is the "symbol of sorry remembrance." Cf. 107.

The name of the plant is from F. *rue*, Lat. *ruta*, Gk. *ῥύτῃ*. The verb *rue* (whence *ruth*, pity—see G.) is cognate with Germ. *reue*, repentance. The confusion between the two words, resulting in the popular name for the plant and its use as a symbol, is a good illustration of "popular etymology" and its effects.

Note the verse in this scene: later, Shakespeare would have made the Gardener and Servants use prose, like the "Serving-men" in *Coriolanus*, IV. 5; so again with the Groom (v. 5).

ACT IV.

Scene 1.

"At the opening of Act IV. we see Bolingbroke already practically enthroned, and the situation is a designed counterpart to the earliest scene of the play, that the contrast may be enforced between the new rulers and the old. A number of lords accuse Aumerle, as Bolingbroke had formerly accused Norfolk, of having had the chief hand in the death of Gloucester. As Aumerle had been Richard's most faithful follower, it would have been to Bolingbroke's interest to let him fall

beneath the swords of the accusers, but he is determined that full justice shall be done. Norfolk has been adduced as a witness of Aumerle's guilt, and Bolingbroke decrees that no further step shall be taken till the banished Duke can be recalled: even when he learns that his ancient adversary is dead, he orders that all differences shall 'rest under gage' till due day of trial can be appointed. Such a spectacle of justice, clemency, and firmness awes the turbulent assembly into obedience. The usurper at this crisis displays the kingly qualities which are so wanting in him who is still in name the king"—*Boas*.

Note that this "appeal" against Aumerle (see **Extract 16**) did not really take place till a fortnight after the deposition of Richard by the Parliament of September 30, 1399, and was made before a different Parliament, viz. the first of Bolingbroke's reign which had met on October 6, 1399. Shakespeare, however, saw in the "appeal" the material for a fine contrast between Richard and Bolingbroke, and dramatic fitness required that the contrast should be made just before their last meeting, not afterwards, when Bolingbroke's accession to the throne had sundered them for ever. We have no right to speak of Shakespeare as having 'confused' the two Parliaments of September 30, the last summoned in Richard's name, for the purpose of deposing him, and the first of Bolingbroke's reign. No doubt, the dramatist made the slight change of date to suit his play. If a dramatist were not allowed such liberty in minor points, historical drama would be impossible.

Westminster Hall. "The rebuilding of this magnificent Hall [originally built by William Rufus] was begun by Richard II. in 1397; it was finished in 1399, and the first assemblage of Parliament in the new edifice was for the purpose of deposing him"—*Staunton*. Truly, fate did not spare the king humiliations.

4. *wrought it with*, i.e. so influenced the king that he ordered it.

5. *timeless*, untimely; the usual sense in Shakespeare. Cf. 1 *Henry VI.* v. 4. 5, "Must I behold thy timeless cruel death?"

10. *dead*, dark, gloomy as death; cf. III. 2. 79. Or 'deadly, fatal,' as in *John*, v. 7. 65, "You breathe these *dead* news in as dead an ear."

12. *restful*, peaceful. Perhaps it implies that the court was at last free from Gloucester's intrigues against Richard.

17. Scan *Eng-e-land*; the *e* sound intruding before *l*.

20. *base*, low; mainly with the idea 'low-born'—cf. the antithesis to "knightly" in 29. Bagot is not his equal.

21, 22. "The *birth* was supposed to be influenced by the *stars*; therefore, our author takes *stars* for *birth*"—*Johnson*. Cf. *Twelfth*

Night, II. 5. 156, "In my stars I am above thee" (i.e. socially your superior). *to give*, i.e. as to.

24. *attainder*, stain, disgrace; see G.

25. He flings down his glove as challenge; cf. I. I. 69.

the manual seal of death, the seal stamped by death's own hand (Lat. *manus*). The metaphor is from a sovereign signing a death-warrant and then affixing his seal-manual to it.

27, 28. *maintain*... *In thy heart-blood*, i.e. prove by the shedding of it; cf. I. I. 148, 149.

29. *temper*, quality. *To temper* steel is to harden it when hot by dipping it in cold water.

31. *one*, i.e. Bolingbroke. *best*, i.e. in birth; noblest.

32. *moved*, angered.

33, 34. i.e. if your courage insists on equality of birth (cf. I. 3. 11, note) in your foe—if you are loth to fight unless you have an enemy who is your equal—then *I* will take up your challenge.

"*Sympathy* is an affection incident at once to two persons. This community of affection implies a likeness or equality of nature, and thence our poet transferred the term to equality of blood," i.e. birth—*Johnson*. For *stand on*=insist on, cf. 'to stand on ceremony.'

39. Cf. I. I. 56, 57, 124, 125.

40. *rapier*; strictly, a weapon not in use in England till Shakespeare's own time. It belonged to the system of fencing imported with its technical terms from Italy.

45. *appeal*, impeachment; cf. I. I. 4. *unjust*, false in your words.

52. *I task the earth to the like*. So the 1st Quarto. The best of the suggested explanations seems to be that as he speaks he flings down his gage and means 'I hereby impose upon the earth the task of bearing a gage similar to that which you, Aumerle, have thrown down.' Staunton says, "I challenge the whole world"; but what follows refers to Aumerle alone. Some editors change to *I task thee*=I challenge thee to. For *task* the later Quartos have *take*, which seems to make no sense with *the earth*: hence the proposal *I take oath to*=I swear to do the same as Aumerle.

53. *lies*, charges of lying; cf. 'to give the lie to.'

55. *From sun to sun*, i.e. in 24 hours; or 'from sunrise to sunset.' The Quartos have "From *sin* to *sin*," which has been explained 'from one denial to another' (each denial being a lie and so a *sin*).

55, 56. *there is*, etc. Cf. 70, 71, and see I. I. 74 note. *engage it*, take up the gage, accept the challenge.

57. *Who sets me else?* who else challenges me? *I'll throw at*, I will have a bout with. A metaphor from gambling, in which *set*=to stake, and *throw*=to throw the dice against, and so 'have a match with'; used here with quibbling reference to throwing down the gage. For these gambling terms cf. *King Lear*, I. 4. 136, "Set less than thou throwest" = do not stake everything on a single throw.

62. *in presence*, in our presence, with us.

66, 67. Much the same idea as in I. 2. 47, 48.

72. *fondly*, foolishly; see *fond* in the Glossary.

74. *in a wilderness*, i.e. even in a wilderness, where they could fight it out to the bitter end, with no one to interfere and help either.

76. *my bond of faith*, my pledge.

77. i.e. to compel you to meet me in combat and suffer chastisement at my hands. Scan *correction*.

78. *this new world*, the new order of things, with a new king.

84. *this*, a gage lent him, as he asked (83). See **Extract 16**, end.

85. *recall'd*, recalled from exile; as in II. 2. 49.

93. *field*, battle. Holinshed has no mention of Norfolk having taken part in Crusades. Shakespeare drew upon some other source, probably Stowe's *Annals* (1580), where it was said that Norfolk visited the Holy Land during his exile; though it is not certain that he did. His death at Venice is just mentioned by Holinshed. It occurred on September 22, 1399, about a week before the historical time of this scene; so that the bishop could hardly have known of it. His lands and rights were all restored to his son (2 *Hen. IV.* IV. 1. 110—112).

96. *retired himself*; cf. F. '*se* retiré,' to withdraw. For the reflexive use cf. I. 2. 42, note and *The Tempest*, v. 310.

108—110. For Richard's resignation see **Extracts 17—19**.

109. *Adopts thee heir*; contrast I. 1. 116; I. 4. 35, 36.

113. See **Extract 20** from Holinshed.

114. See **Extract 21** for Carlisle's famous protest. But it is very doubtful whether he ever delivered any such speech. See p. 219.

115. *Worst*, with least right to speak; meaning least right in respect of rank. Cf. "best," 31.

116. An absolute construction, the *it* being omitted: 'it befitting me best, nevertheless, to speak.' As the representative of religion, he feels specially bound to protest against what he holds to be heinous wrong-doing. Dramatically it is most impressive that the Church should, through the bishop, denounce in unequivocal terms the deposition of him whom she had "anointed" as the Lord's elect, and consecrated

to that "sacred" office. Note that the part which the Church really took in Richard's deposition, and which Shakespeare saw in Holinshed, is entirely omitted in the "deposition-scene" that follows. It could not have been introduced after Carlisle's protest. The inconsistency would have been fatally confusing.

117. *any*; a stroke at Bolingbroke.

120. *Learn*, teach; as in the Prayer-Book. Cf. *Psalm* xxv. 4, "Lead me forth in thy truth, and learn me," and verse 8.

121. Cf. Richard's words, III. 2. 56, 57. The whole idea of the divine right of kings is an anachronism here. See p. 180.

123. *Thieves*; emphatic by position = *even* thieves.
but they are by, unless they are present.

124. *apparent*, manifest; see G.

125. *figure*, image.

126, 127. For the language cf. I. 2. 37, 38; III. 2. 57; III. 3. 78.
planted, established on the throne. *many years*, twenty-two.

129. *forfend*, forbid; see G.

130. *climate*, land; see G.

131. *obscene*, foul.

141. *kin*, family. *kind*, race, i.e. human kind, human race; or perhaps 'nation.' For the association of the words cf. the famous line in *Hamlet*, I. 2. 55, "A little more than kin, and less than kind."

142. *mutiny*, rebellion, civil strife; see G.

144. *Golgotha*; the name means 'skull.' *Matthew* xxvii. 33; *Mark* xv. 22. The Scriptural allusion fits the speaker.

145. "And every city or house divided against itself shall not stand," *Matthew* xii. 25. Note the Scriptural allusions in the play.

148. Abbott thinks that the prefix is dropped in *resist*, so that it sounds 'sist, like 'ware for *beware*, 'long for *belong*, 'course for *recourse*, and many others. He scans "Prevént | it, 'sist | it, lét | it nó | be só." But the scansion "Prevént it, | resist it, |—lét | it nó | be só" seems to me better. The *t* sound in *it* makes the extra syllable in each of the first two feet sound like a slight prolongation of the preceding *t* sound in *prevent* and *resist*. The strong emphasis makes *let*=two syllables. The obvious but needless simplification is to drop the first *it*.

149. *child*, *child's children*. Some alter to the familiar phrase *children's children*. Cf. *Psalm* cxxviii. 6, "Yea, thou shalt see thy children's children, and peace upon Israel;" *Psalm* ciii. 17.

152, 153. This is historically correct. Shakespeare must have had

some other source than Holinshed, who says that the bishop was "committed to ward in the Abbeie of Saint Albons."

155—318. These are the lines forming the so-called "deposition-scene" which are not in the first two Quartos. Note particularly that Richard did not make his resignation in person before the Parliament; see p. 219.

157, 158. i.e. then our proceedings will be quite above suspicion. See **Extract 19**, line 21. *conduct*, conductor, escort.

159. Cf. I. 1. 198, 199.

160. *beholding*, indebted; see G.

168, 169. *favours*, features; see G. *sometime*, formerly, once.

170. Cf. III. 2. 132.

173. *clerk*; whose duty it was to lead the responses in church and say 'amen.'

181. *seize the crown*. Some think that these words are really a stage-direction to the actor performing the part of Bolingbroke. Such directions sometimes **crept** into the text. For the incident see p. 220.

184—186. An actor would illustrate the comparison by gestures.

185. *owes*, has; see G.

186. It seems rather unnatural that the emptier bucket should represent the successful Bolingbroke, since emptiness, in any comparison that suggests balancing, is the usual symbol of that which is inferior, without weight. Cf. the famous passage in *Paradise Lost*, IV. 996—1015, where Satan's chances in the combat with Gabriel are weighed in the golden scales of the Almighty, and he is "shown how light, how weak" he is. But it is the parallel "full of water" and "full of tears" that pleases the king's morbid fancy.

192. *state*, majesty, power.

196, 197. He quibbles on two senses of *care*; his meaning, put fully, is: 'My trouble ("care") is the loss of care, through cessation of the care which I had as king (see III. 2. 95, 96): your trouble is the increase of care through acquisition of the care that besets a king.'

done, i.e. done with, finished.

199. *tend*, attend, accompany.

201. *Ay, no; no, ay*. "In these syllables we see the whole man"—*Brandes*. They are the expression of Richard's wavering, irresolute nature and its many moods. There is supposed to be a quibble on *ay* which is printed *I* in the original editions, as always.

for I must nothing be; this explains the preceding *ay*. Bolingbroke asked whether he was content to resign the crown; Richard answers,

'Yes—no; no—yes, for I *have* to be nothing now; therefore (202) there can be no "no" in the matter.'

203. *undo*, i.e. strip himself of all his regal attributes.

204, 205. *heavy...unwieldy*. The epithets represent his pathetic attempt to make himself believe that he is content to resign; but the crown was not heavy before, nor the sceptre hard to wield. This speech (204—215) is a poetic version of the paper of resignation he signed.

207. His tears do that which all the water in the sea could not do (III. 2. 54, 55). *balm*, the holy oil of a monarch's consecration; from the unction of his hands came, it was thought, the power of healing by "touch" the "King's evil" (scrofula)—see *Macbeth*, IV. 3. 135—154.

210. i.e. release my subjects from all reverential customs (e.g. bending low to him). Cf. his rebuke in III. 3. 72—76.

212. Scan *révénues*; as in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, I. 1. 158, "Of great *révénue*, and she hath no child." Contrast I. 4. 46.

214, 215. In his resignation Richard *formally* absolved his subjects from their allegiance.

223. *accusations...crimes*. See **Extract 19**, 2nd paragraph (end).

224. Scan "Commít|ted bý | your pér|son ànd | your fól|lowers)." *lower*.

228. *ravel out*, unweave; see G. The idea is to pull all to pieces something that has been finished.

230. *upon record*, set down on paper, registered. Shakespeare accents it both *récord* (I. 1. 30) and *récórd* (here).

232. *To read a lecture of them*, to read them out (with the idea 'as a warning' to others). *If thou wouldst*, if you *were* to read them out.

233. *article*, item, entry.

235. *cracking the strong warrant*, breaking the solemn pledge. *oath*, i.e. Northumberland's oath of allegiance to Richard.

236. *the book*, where the recording angel should enter the sin.

237. *look upon*, look on as spectators.

238. *Whiles that*. Cf. *when that*, e.g. in *Julius Cæsar*, III. 2. 96, "When that the poor have cried, Cæsar hath *wépt*." See I. 1. 129.

bait. The metaphor of an animal tied to a stake and worried by dogs is wonderfully appropriate to the state of the poor *harríed* king.

239—242. *Matthew xxvii. 24—26. deliver'd*; the word used in each of the Gospels. *sour*, bitter. Schmidt says "*gloomy, sad*." A favourite word with Shakespeare; note its various uses, I. 3. 236, II. 1. 169, III. 2. 136, 193, III. 4. 105 ('sad'), V. 3. 121 ('ill-tempered'), V. 5. 42 ('distasteful'), V. 6. 20.

246. *sort*, set; always contemptuous. Cf. *Richard III.* v. 3. 316, "a sort of vagabonds"; 2 *Henry VI.* II. 1. 167, "a sort of naughty persons." Lat. *sors*, a lot.

250. *pompous*, glorious, stately; used only in a good sense by Shakespeare; cf. *As You Like It*, v. 4. 188, "the pompous court."

253, 254. A reminiscence, probably, of the abdication-scene in *Edward II.* v. 1. 112, 113; cf.

"Winchester. My lord—

Edward II. Call me not lord; away—out of my sight."

Haught, haughty, proud (F. *haut*); cf. *Edward II.* III. 2. 28, "This haught resolve becomes your majesty."

255--259. One explanation of this is that he merely means that he has surrendered all the rights of name and position which were his by birth. But the emphasis on *name* (255, 256, 259) points to some special allusion, and some think that Shakespeare alludes to the story of Richard's illegitimacy which was current after his fall. His baptismal (256) name was really *John*, changed afterwards to *Richard*, and it appears that after his abdication he was styled *Jehan de Bordeaulx*, from his birthplace Bordeaux, and *Jehan de Londres* (Stone).

256. *was given*, i.e. *which* was given.

264. *sterling*, of full value, current; see G.

word; so the 1st Folio; the Quartos have *name*.

267. *his*, its.

272. *The commons*; cf. 154.

281. An allusion to the famous passage in Marlowe's *Dr Faustus* (scene XIV), where Mephistophilis calls up a vision of Helen of Troy for Faustus, who exclaims:

"Was this the face that launch'd a thousand ships,
And burnt the topless towers of Ilium?"

So in *Troilus and Cressida*, II. 2. 82, where Troilus calls Helen a pearl "Whose price hath launch'd above a thousand ships."

282, 283. Holinshed says of Richard: "He kept the greatest port [state], and maintained the most plentiful house, that euer any king in England did. For there resorted dailie to his court aboue ten thousand persons that had meat and drinke there allowed them."

290. The *moral* which Bolingbroke is to see is that *his* new-won glory may prove brittle.

291. i.e. his sorrow has made him dash to pieces the mirror which reflected his face.

292, 293. "The act by which you express your sorrow has

destroyed the reflected image of your face."—*Rolfe*. Perhaps by the *shadow of your sorrow* Bolingbroke means that there is something artificial, theatrical, in Richard's grief: that "his passion is without substance...a mere mirrored reflex of true grief"—*Boas*. Cf. the saying that "great grief is silent, only the lesser speaks."

297. *shadows to*, appearances belonging to; cf. II. 2. 14, 23.

305. In his overwrought state he catches up words and plays with them bitterly; cf. 317; III. 3. 180. Now his "sickness" of mind must teach him why "sick men play so nicely" (II. 1. 84) with words.

308. *to*, for, as; cf. *Luke* iii. 8, "We have Abraham to our father." So "I take thee to my wedded wife," Prayer-Book. The notion is 'equivalent to,' hence 'for,' 'as.'

315. *so*, provided that, if only.

317. Richard is quibbling on the slang use of *convey* = to steal, and means that those who have robbed him of his crown may well be described as *conveyers* (= thieves). Cf. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, I. 3. 30—33: "*Nym*. The good humour is to steal at a minute's rest. *Pistol*. 'Convey,' the wise call it. 'Steal!' a fico for the phrase!" So in *Edward II.* I. 1. 200, 201, where Edward says, "Convey this priest to the Tower," and the bishop answers sarcastically, "True, true!" meaning 'you may indeed call such an action conveying!'

We find *convey* = to act stealthily and *conveyance* = dishonesty, trickery. Cf. *King Lear*, I. 2. 109, 110, 'I will convey the business,' where Edmund is referring to his plot against Edgar; and 3 *Henry VI.* III. 3. 160, "Thy sly conveyance and thy lord's false love."

319. *solemnly set down*, formally fix for that day. The actual day of Bolingbroke's coronation was Monday, October 13, 1399.

321. *pageant*, spectacle; see G.

324. The mention of the "plot" (*Extract 25*) is to show that Nemesis is soon at work. It illustrates what Richard said in 197. This idea of *retribution* is the main thread of connection that joins *Richard II.*, *Henry IV.* (two parts) and *Henry V.* We see Henry IV. (Bolingbroke) reaping the results of usurpation, and Henry V. praying for forgiveness of it (*Hen. V.* IV. 1. 309—322) before Agincourt. The other thread is the development of the character of the young Prince Henry (see v. 3. 1—12, note) into Shak.'s great king and ideal man of action—Henry V.

325. *blot*, disgrace to the realm, i.e. Bolingbroke.

328. i.e. receive the sacrament as a holy pledge that you will keep secret my purpose and will carry it out.

333, 334. *lay*, plan, devise. *show*, i.e. *which*, shall; cf. 256.

ACT V.

Scene 1.

This pathetic scene of parting is in itself a justification of Shakespeare's unhistorical representation of the Queen. She and Richard never met after the parting at Windsor (II. 2. 1—4); nor did her return to France take place till eighteen months (June 1401) after his removal to Pomfret Castle in the late autumn of 1399—*Stone*.

2. It was an old tradition that Julius Caesar was the original builder of the Tower of London, "Which, since, succeeding ages have re-edified," *Richard III.* III. 1. 71.

ill-erected, built for an evil purpose, or under evil auspices. It expresses the Queen's wish that the Tower had never been built at all, since it is about to serve as Richard's prison.

3. *flint*; said literally of the stone of which the Tower is built, and also figuratively = flint-hearted, cruel. Cf. v. 5. 20.

8. *My fair rose*. So Hotspur calls Richard "that sweet lovely rose" in 1 *Henry IV.* 1. 3. 175. The extant portraits of Richard show that his appearance, inherited from his mother the "Fair Maid of Kent," was somewhat effeminate (*Dictionary of Biography*).

9, 10. The metaphor of "rose" is continued. Cf. *The Taming of the Shrew*, II. 1. 174, (clear) "As morning roses newly wash'd with dew."

11. The Queen means to compare Richard's ruin with the ruin of Troy, a type of fallen greatness. So she says: "Thou ruined majesty that *resemblest* the desolated waste where Troy stood"—*Malone*; or perhaps 'that resemblest the outline, the design, of the city in its ruins.' The Queen herself is in a high-strung, almost hysterical state: hence her incoherent comparisons—"rose," "model," "map," "tomb," "inn."

12. *map*, i.e. mere outline, which is all that is left of Richard's former honour and majesty. Some interpret 'picture, image' (in a complimentary sense), but this does not harmonise with the idea of ruin that immediately precedes and follows.

thou...tomb. "*King* (emphatic) Richard" is no more, and his body has become as it were the grave of his kingship.

13. *inn*; contrasted with the vulgar word "alehouse" (15). The original sense of *inn* ('a place to stay in') is shown by *Inns of court* = places of residence for lawyers, e.g. Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn.

14. *hard-favour'd*, ill-looking, with harsh features; cf. IV. 1. 168.

15. i.e. when success rests with base creatures like Richard's enemies.

16, 17. "Do not, by thy additional sorrows, enable grief to strike me down at once. My own part of sorrow I can bear, but thy affliction will immediately destroy me"—*Johnson*.

20. *sworn brother*, bosom friend of. A reference to a mediæval custom. Two men would swear to share each other's fortunes on some adventure or campaign, and were called *fratres jurati* ('brothers bound by an oath'). Cf. *Much Ado About Nothing*, I. 1. 72, 73, "Who is his companion now? He hath every month a new sworn brother."

23. *cloister thee*; for the reflexive cf. I. 2. 42, note. *religious*; in its specially ecclesiastical sense 'monastic, conventual.'

24, 25. i.e. by holiness we must win a crown in a new world, Heaven, seeing that in our worldly lives we have lost our earthly crown.

27. *Transform'd*; referring to "shape," as *weaken'd* to "mind."

28. *hath he been in thy heart?* i.e. and ~~taken~~ thence "the pride of kingly sway," as Richard said, IV. 1. 206.

31. *To be*, at being.

35. For his way of catching up words, cf. IV. 1. 305, note.

37. *sometime*, former; cf. I. 2. 54.

40. *In winter's nights*. Cf. the title *The Winter's Tale*.

This speech seems to me one of the parts where Richard makes a luxury of his grief; he contemplates it in a detached sort of way, as an artist might view some picturesquely pathetic scene.

43. *to quit their griefs*, to make a return for their doleful tales.

44. *tale*; so the Quartos; the 1st Folio has *fall*.

46—48. i.e. because even the unfeeling wood on the fire will respond to the sorrowful tones of thy pathetic tongue, and shed tears.

The comparison between tears and moisture exuding from wood, and the quibbles on mourning (in sackcloth) and ashes, and putting on black, are very characteristic. His morbid, imaginative nature takes instinctive refuge in these pitiful, fantastic images. See p. 222.

46. *sympathise*, sympathise *with*, suffer *with*.

48. *fire*; two syllables, as in I. 3. 294.

52. *Pomfret*; the old spelling and pronunciation of *Pontefract* in Yorkshire. "Peter of Pomfret, a prophet" is a character in *King John*.

53. *there is order ta'en*, provision is made for.

55—69. The essence of this episode is dramatic “irony.” Shakespeare was prophesying after the event. The audience know that the prophecy placed in Richard’s mouth was fulfilled to the letter. Those who afterwards saw *Henry IV.* would remember this speech (part of which Bolingbroke himself is made to quote in 2 *Hen. IV.* III. 1. 70—79) and Northumberland’s words (69), spoken all unconsciously of what the spectator knows was to follow.

58, 59. The metaphor of an ulcer or boil; cf. *The Tempest*, v. 1. 1.

60. *divide*. The subjunctive expresses unlikelihood.

64. *Being ne’er so little urged*, on the slightest inducement, at the least provocation.

66. Cf. III. 2. 135, 136. *converts*, changes; used intransitively, and not with the modern idea of changing to something better.

67, 68. *turns to*, brings to. One man destroys the other, unless indeed they destroy each other.

74, 75. “A kiss appears to have been an established circumstance in our ancient nuptial ceremonies”—*Steevens*.

77. *pines*; literally ‘makes to pine,’ hence ‘starves, afflicts.’ The verb is singular because *cold* and *sickness* go together, so as to produce the impression of *one* subject=cold with its result, viz. sickness.

79, 80. i.e. her coming was like spring, her returning is like autumn or winter. *Hallowmas*; also called *All-hallows* or *All-hallowtide*=All Saints’ Day (November 1st). *short’st of day*, December 21.

The rhyme from here to the end of the scene has a pretty elegiac effect.

84. *policy*, wisdom.

88. i.e. better that she should be far off than near to him, yet not really *nearer* because not allowed to see him: if she remained in England the separation would seem harder. The phrase *ne’er the near* i.e. *nearer* (cf. III. 2. 64) meant that after all, in spite of something, you were still unable to get what you wanted.

92. *piece the way out*, i.e. supplement it, so that it shall appear as long as her way to France.

95. *part*, separate us.

97. *mine own*, i.e. heart. *no good part*, no good action, behaviour; said perhaps with quibbling reference to *part* in 95.

98. Cf. the pathetic description of Falstaff’s end in *Henry V.* II. 1. 92, 93, “The king has killed his heart.”

101. *fond*, foolish; see G.

Scene 2.

3. *coming into London*; cf. III. 3. 208, 209. 'The duchess is going back to a time prior to the deposition in Act IV. Bolingbroke's joyful reception by the people of London is described by Holinshed. See also 2 *Henry IV.* I. 3. 101—105.

16. *painted imagery*. "Our author probably was thinking of the painted cloths that were hung in the streets, in the pageants that were exhibited in his own time; in which the figures sometimes had labels issuing from their mouths, containing sentences of gratulation"—*Malone*. Cf. the coloured cloths, tapestry etc., with mottos, hung on the fronts of houses when streets are decorated at some public function.

23. Editors note that Dryden specially praised the vividness and pathos of this description. Himself an actor of minor parts (according to tradition he played the Ghost in *Hamlet* and the faithful Adam in *As You Like It*), Shakespeare wrote the passage with the vividness born of personal observation (or experience).

24. *well-graced*; Schmidt says 'popular, in favour with people.' Rather, I think, 'attractive' (*graced*=full of graces).

25. *idly*, carelessly, indifferently.

30. *sacred*. York cannot help speaking of Richard in the old way as king, though he is too prudent not to recognise Bolingbroke (39, 40).

32, 33. Cf. III. 2. 9, and the famous "sunshine and rain" passage in *King Lear*, IV. 3. 19—21. *badge*; properly a silver sign, worn by the servants of a nobleman. Cf. *Much Ado*, I. 1. 23, *Sonnet* 44.

36. *barbarism itself*; the very savages. 38. *bound*, submit.

41. Really, Aumerle was not her son. The duchess introduced in this play was York's second wife; his first, Aumerle's mother, died in 1394. The reason for this departure from history is clear.

41—43. Aumerle had been deprived of his dukedom. In Holinshed's description of the plot he is always called Earl of Rutland, e.g. "Edward earle of Rutland, late duke of Aumarle." See **Extracts 25, 26**.

44, 45. Skilfully introduced in view of what is to follow. It shews why York is so suspicious (56—71). *truth*, *loyalty*; cf. *true*, II. 1. 192.

46, 47. i.e. who are the new favourites who are paying court to the new king and winning his favour?

49. i.e. I would as willingly not be one of them. *Ref; the G.*

52. *hold*, do they take place? Cf. 'to hold good.' *justs and triumphs*, tilts and tournaments. See each in G.

55. The words have a significance which York does not suspect.
56. *hangs*. The seals of deeds were formerly stamped on slips or labels of parchment which were attached to them and hung down—*Malone*. *without*, outside.
57. *the writing*; “the indenture” mentioned by Holinshed.
60. *pardon*, excuse.
- 67, 68. Naturally the man to whom Aumerle was “bound” would keep the bond, just as in *The Merchant of Venice* Shylock keeps the bond signed by Antonio.
- 78, 79. We must remember that York was surety for Aumerle’s loyalty (44, 45). *appeach*, denounce, charge.
83. *answer*, answer for; cf. I. R. 108.
96. *here*; pointing to the bond (“that” in 99).
97. *interchangeably*, in mutual agreement.
98. *none*, i.e. not one of those who execute the plot.
101. *groaned for him*, i.e. in childbirth. 105. *post*, post-haste.

Scene 3.

1—12. This is the picture of Prince Hal, and of his relations to his father, that we get in *Henry IV*. Cf. the story of his taking the crown from his sick father’s bedside (2 *Henry IV*. IV. 5). So in *Julius Caesar* we have a foretaste of those pleasure-loving traits in Antony which become in *Antony and Cleopatra* a vital element of his character.

Really the prince was only twelve years old at this time, and Bolingbroke himself but thirty-three. Perhaps Shakespeare’s object in mentioning the prince in this unhistorical manner was to suggest a parallel between Bolingbroke and the prince and York and Aumerle: having an “unthrifty son” himself, Bolingbroke is more disposed to be lenient with York’s “digressing son.”

1. *unthrifty*, ne’er-do-well, good for nothing.

7. *companions*; of the type immortalised in *Henry IV*. The tradition as to the prince’s wild life in London is not supported by contemporary evidence.

9. *watch*, watchmen, night-police.

10—12. Bolingbroke was going to say ‘*which*—i.e. which conduct—he regards it as a point of honour to support’ (since they are his companions); but he ignores the rather indefinite object *which*, as it is so far off from its verb, and substitutes the more vivid object *crew*. The break of construction is just the sort of change that occurs in conversation. Cf. the repetition of a subject where the verb has been separated from

it, e.g. in *Julius Caesar*, I. 2. 115, where *I* simply repeats *I* in line 112. Some editors change *which* to *whiles*.

17, 18. Cf. Scott's picture of "many a knight" (*Lay of the Last Minstrel*, IV. 19)

"With favour in his crest [helmet], or glove,
Memorial of his ladye-love."

favour, a token of favour, love-pledge; cf. *wedding-favours*.

20. *both*, i.e. the qualities implied by the preceding adjectives.

21. *some sparks*; which time kindles into the splendid character of Shakespeare's "ideal man of action," Henry V. When he wrote these words he had it surely in mind to compose *Henry IV.* and *Henry V.*

34. *If on the first*, if your ~~fault~~ rests on, consists in, the first, i.e. in intention, not commission; cf. II. 3. 107. Some editors change *on* to *but*.

41. *safe*, powerless to harm me; 'I'll despatch you.'

43. *secure*, careless, too confident; see G.

44. Apparently the sense is 'may I not as a loving subject tell you to your face of the plot hatched against you?' Some think that *speaks treason* refers to his having called the king "secure" and "foolhardy."

49. *this writing*; cf. V. 2. 56—71.

51. *pass'd*, pledged, given.

58. Cf. III. 2. 131.

59. *strong*, reckless, determined; used similarly in a bad sense in *King Lear*, II. 1. 79, "Strong and fasten'd villain!"

61. *sheer*, pure, clear; see G. *fountain*, spring, source.

64. *converts to bad*, changes to bad (i.e. in Aumerle). Cf. V. 1. 66.

66. *digressing*, that goes astray, literally 'that leaves the proper channel'; it continues the metaphor of the stream. We should say 'transgressing.'

70—73. i.e. if Aumerle is allowed to live and so continue his dishonourable career, York's honourable name will be destroyed.

71. *lies in*, is bound up with, depends on.

73. *true*, loyal; cf. *truth*, V. 2. 44.

80. The reference is to the story of *King Cophetua and the Beggar Maid*, familiar to us through Tennyson's poem *The Beggar Maid*. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, II. 1. 14, "When King Cophetua loved the beggar-maid." See the well-known old ballad of *King Cophetua* given in Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*; sometimes called simply *A Song of a Beggar and a King*. The reference here rather suggests that there was some Elizabethan 'interlude' or short humorous play on the subject.

85, 86. i.e. lop off this diseased limb and you save the others: suffer this to remain and by corruption it will destroy the others; meaning 'treachery will spread among your nobles.'

88. If York does not love his own son, how can he love Bolingbroke? And so, why should Bolingbroke trust his advice?

89. *make*, do; cf. *Hamlet*, I. 2. 164, "And what make you from Wittenberg, Horatio?"; II. 2. 277, "what make you at Elsinore?"

96. *Rutland*. Speaking to Bolingbroke she is careful to use her son's proper title; cf. v. 2. 41—43.

101. *in jest*. Some editors omit *in*, to simplify the scansion; but *are*, coming after the *rs* sound in *prayers* and before the open vowel (*in*), has a very light sound: "his prayers | *ar*'in jést."

103. *would be*, would like to be.

110. *prayer*; a dissyllable, as often.

118. Much the same sentiment as Portia's in the great "quality of mercy" speech in *The Merchant of Venice*, IV. 1. 196, 197.

119. "*pardonne moi*," i.e. excuse me; the common phrase for politely declining to do something. *moi*; printed *moy* in the original editions, according to its common pronunciation by Englishmen, and so rhyming with *destroy*. Cf. *Henry V.* IV. 4. 13, 14, 23.

123, 124. The sort of remark that "the groundlings" in the pit would clap.

the chopping French; perhaps = the finicking, mincing, French language. Dr Murray explains *chopping* in this passage by 'jerky, abrupt,' literally 'interrupted by chops or breaks.' Either 'mincing' or 'jerky' might express a very English view of French. Some interpret 'the French people who clip and mutilate their words' (i.e. chop them up, as it were). Others again take *chopping* = changing (as in 'to chop and change'), with the general sense 'the French language' that exchanges one sense for another, turning *pardon* as in *pardonne moi* into its very opposite, a refusal ('excuse me') of *pardon*.'

125. i.e. let your tongue speak the pity which is expressed in your eye.

128. *pardon to rehearse*, to pronounce the word 'pardon' (not "*pardonne moi*"). A peculiar use of *rehearse* (commonly 'to tell, mention' or 'to recite') for the sake of the rhyme, and a bad rhyme too.

132. *vantage*, profit, gain; with something of the notion 'coign of vantage,' 'vantage ground.'

137. *our brother-in-law*, the Earl of Huntingdon, sometime Duke

of Exeter, who proposed the tournament at Oxford. He had been deprived of his dukedom at the same time as Aumerle. See **Extract 25.**

the abbot; i.e. of Westminster.

138. *the rest*; there were about "a dozen" in all (v. 2. 96).

consorted, confederate.

140. *powers*, bodies of troops.

144. The early Quartos and Folios have *and, cousin, adieu*. The metre shows that something has dropped out, and many editors print *cousin mine*.

145. *prove you true*; as Aumerle did. He is the Duke of York in *Henry V.*, and fell fighting at Agincourt. See the most beautiful description of his death, *Henry V.* iv. 6. 3—32.

Scene 4.

1—3. See **Extract 23**, first lines. As to Richard's death see p. 220.

2. *will*, i.e. *who will*. *fear*, object of fear.

7. *wistly*, closely, attentively.

8. Cf. *The Merchant of Venice*, i. 1. 93, "As who should say, 'I am Sir Oracle'." *As who*, like one who; cf. F. *comme qui dirait*, i.e. *celui qui*. Probably *who* in 'as *who* should say' was originally an indefinite pronoun = 'anyone, some one,' the whole phrase being used parenthetically like our common phrase 'as one might say.' But in Shakespeare's use of the phrase *who* seems to be a relative with the implied antecedent 'one or he who.' See Abbott, p. 175.

9. *divorce*, remove.

11. *rid*, destroy.

Scene 5.

8. *generation*, progeny, offspring. *still-breeding*, constantly-breeding.

9. *this little world*, i.e. himself, man being regarded as the microcosm or epitome of the macrocosm, i.e. the universe; see II. 1. 45. Cf. "his little world of man," *King Lear*, III. 1. 10. But some interpret it of Richard's prison.

10. *humours*, tempers, dispositions; see G.

12. *As*, namely, to wit; cf. II. 1. 18.

13. *scruples*, doubts. *the word*, the sacred Word, Scripture. The 1st Folio has *faith* instead of *word* in both lines (13, 14).

set. Against one passage of Scripture they bring another, e.g. *Matthew* xix. 24 against xix. 14, as if the one were contrary to the other. Cf. v. 3. 122.

17. *thread*, go through. *postern*, opening, literally 'a small gate at the back (Lat. *post*) of a castle.' *needle's*; a monosyllable, as in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, III. 2. 204, "Have with our needles created both one flower." Cf. the old spelling *neeld* (A.S. *neðl*), which some editors print in both places.

20. *flinty*; cf. v. 1. 3. *ribs*; cf. III. 3. 32.

21. *ragged*, rugged; used several times of rocks and stones, e.g. in 3 *Henry VI.* v. 4. 27, "a ragged fatal rock," and 2 *Henry IV.* Induction 35, "this hold of ragged stone" (i.e. castle).

26. *refuge their shame*, comfort themselves in their shame—solace their sense of shame—with the thought that.

27. *have*, i.e. have sat.

31. A favourite metaphor drawn from Shakespeare's own profession. Cf. the famous passage "All the world's a stage," *As You Like It*, II. 7. 139, and *The Merchant of Venice*, I. 1. 78, where Antonio calls the world "A stage where every man must play a part."

35. *better*, better off.

39—41. i.e. neither I nor any mere mortal will ever find lasting pleasure in anything till he gains the relief of being no more.

41. Music is the one thing that can increase the pathetic effect of the scene. Shakespeare's use of music is a suggestive subject of study. As illustrations note the scene of Lear's partial recovery (*King Lear*, IV. 7); *Julius Caesar*, IV. 3. 266, where "the music and a song" remove the impression of stir and unrest left by the dispute between Brutus and Cassius, and so stimulate the imagination that it is ready to be moved by the manifestation of the supernatural that follows; and *The Merchant of Venice*, III. 2 (the scene of Bassanio's choice of the casket) and Act v., where "the touches of sweet harmony" stealing through the moonlit silence transport us from the hot, thronged law court and its fierce passions to a region of lyric romance in which the lovers are at home. On the stage, especially in pathetic scenes, a musical accompaniment almost always adds charm. Hence music is a great feature in modern representations of Shakespeare, and some beautiful numbers have been written by modern composers, e.g. for *Henry VIII.* No one can doubt that Shakespeare himself had a great love of music, and considerable knowledge too, though not, I suppose, the scientific knowledge of it that Milton had.

43. *no proportion*. To appreciate the full force of the words, the musical student should refer to the chapter on "Music" in *Shakespeare's England*, 1916, where the difference of construction between Elizabethan and modern music is analysed.

48. *my*; emphatic. He could detect ("check") the wrong time in the music but not the discord when his own affairs were all out of tune.

50—58. "There are three ways in which a clock notices the progress of time; viz., by the libration of the pendulum, the index on the dial, and the striking of the hour. To these the king, in his comparison, severally alludes; his sighs corresponding to the jarring of the pendulum, which, at the same time that it watches or numbers the seconds, marks also their progress in minutes on the dial or outward watch, to which the king compares his eyes; and their want of figures is supplied by a succession of tears, or, to use an expression of Milton [*Il Penseroso*, 130], *minute-drops*: his finger, by as regularly wiping these away, performs the office of the dial-point; his clamorous groans are the sounds that tell the hour."—*Henley*.

50, 51. *his numbering clock*, the clock by which he counts (or marks) the flight of hours. *jar*, tick. A somewhat similar passage to this (50—52) is the quibbling piece in *Love's L. L.* III. 1. 192—195, comparing a woman with "a German clock."

52. *watches*, "the marks of the minutes on a dial-plate."

53, 54. *dial's point*, the hand of the clock. *still*, constantly.

56. *Are*; the verb is attracted to the predicate "groans."

60. *Jack o' the clock*; the figure of a little man in armour which (in old clocks) struck the bell every quarter of an hour; also called *Jack o' the clock-house*. The clock in York Minster has two such figures, and so has that at Wells Cathedral. See *Richard III.* IV. 2. 114—117.

61. *mads*; cf. *Twelfth Night*, I. 5. 140, 141, "one draught [of wine] makes him a fool: the second mads him;" and for the intransitive use, Gray's line, "Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife"—*Elegy*, 73.

62. Cf. the "soft music" played to soothe the distracted Lear (IV. 7). It has been pointed out that belief in the efficacy of music in the treatment of the insane is very old (cf. David's playing before Saul, I *Samuel* xvi.) but that the influence is not always beneficial. *help*; see G.

66. *brooch*, ornament; cf. *Hamlet*, IV. 7. 94, 95,

"I know him well: he is the brooch indeed
And gem of all the nation."

Richard means that loyalty to him is as rare as costly gems.

all-hating, i.e. "in which the spirit of hatred is prevalent."

67. Richard's answer is like Portia's in *The Merchant of Venice*, II. 9. 85: "*Servant*. Where is my lady? *Portia*. Here: what would my lord?" Only there is an ironical jesting in Richard's rejoinder. He quibbles on *royal*, the name of a gold coin worth 10s. and *noble*, another gold coin worth 6s. 8d. The difference in value between them would be *ten groats*, the *groat* being worth 4d.

68. "Richard says: 'The cheapest of us (that is, the *noble*, worth twenty groats) is valued at double its worth, or ten groats too dear.' This jest is said to have been borrowed from Queen Elizabeth. Mr John Blower, in a sermon before her Majesty, first said, 'My royal Queen,' and a little after, 'My noble Queen.' Upon which says the Queen: 'What! am I ten groats worse than I was?' A similar joke may be found in 1 *Henry IV*. II. 4. 317—321."—*Rolfe*.

I cannot help thinking that by *us* Richard refers to *royal*, not *noble*, and means that the cheapest *royal* is "ten groats too dear" (the difference between the two coins) because he, a "*royal* prince," had not proved equivalent to Bolingbroke, a "*noble* peer."

70. *sad*, gloomy; see G.

72. The point of an episode like this is its pathos—that it wakes the memory of happier days and contrasts them with the present. And the man's loyalty stirs sympathy with Richard, making us feel that there must have been a kindness in the king; else why should this humble servant have taken such pains to seek his fallen master? Then, how true to life is his speech (72—80), how natural the point of view. That Bolingbroke should be mounted on the favourite horse is exactly what would strike him.

75. *sometimes*; cf. I. 2. 54.

76. *yearn'd*, grieved; see G.

78. *Barbary* in the north-west of Africa was famous for horses, small but swift, and very trainable; cf. *Hamlet*, V. 2. 155.

84—89. "The Arab steed here symbolises with fine simplicity the attitude of all those who had sunned themselves in the prosperity of the now fallen King."—*Brandes*.

88. *Pride must have a fall*; *Proverbs* xvi. 18.

94. *Spurr'd*, *gall'd*; so the Quartos; the Folios have *spur-gall'd*, wounded (or fretted) by the spur. Cf. *Hamlet*, III. 2. 253, "let the galled jade wince, our withers are unwrung." To *jaunce* a horse is to fret him so as to make him prance; lit. 'to make him go in a *jaunty* style.'

99. *Taste of it first*; suggested by Holinshed's remark that Exton

bade Richard's keeper not to "assay" the food set before Richard any more. See **Extract 23**, lines 8--12. The tasters at the royal table who partook of the dishes first (for fear of poison) were said to *assay* them (cf. *F. essayer*, to try). 107. *room*, place.

109--118. Here, of course, the rhyme marks the close—the close of his life's tragedy, as of the scene. *staggers*, lays low. See **Extract 23**, end.

For the historical circumstances of Richard's death, which is referred to similarly in 2 *Henry IV.* 1. 1. 204, 205, see p. 220. Nothing in his life, as drawn in this play, "became him like the leaving it" (*Macbeth*, 1. 4. 8). Compare Hamlet's end.

Scene 6.

The historical course of events was as follows:—After the discovery of the plot Bolingbroke gave up his purpose of going to Oxford and remained at Windsor. To Windsor the rebel lords marched in the hope of surprising him. "Warned in time, he fled by night (Jan. 4-5, 1400) to London, and raised forces to oppose them. The rebels retreated, and arrived at Cirencester on January 6. At midnight, the townsmen attacked them in their lodgings, and, after a struggle which lasted for many hours, obliged them to surrender. The lords were then confined in the abbey. About vespers a chaplain attached to them set fire to some houses in Cirencester, in order that the prisoners might escape while the townsmen were extinguishing the flames. But the men of Cirencester, paying no heed to the fire, brought the rebels out of the abbey, and beheaded the Earls of Salisbury and Kent about sunset, on January 7, 1400."—*Stone*.

3. *Cicester*; the common local pronunciation still current of *Cirencester*. For a similar Gloucestershire provincialism cf. II. 3. 9, notes. The original editions have *Cicester*.

10. *discoursed*, narrated.

19--21. It is commonly supposed that the Abbot of Westminster introduced in this play was William of Colchester, who, however, is said by some to have lived till 1420. Another view is that it was his successor Richard Harouden or Harweden. Shakespeare has simply followed Holinshed, who mentions no name but says: "Shortlie after, the abbat of Westminster, in whose house the conspiracie was begun, for thought fell into a sudden palsie, and shortlie after, without speech, ended his life."—*Holinshed*. (*For thought* = from melancholy, depression of spirit; cf. "she pined in thought," *Twelfth Night*, II. 4. 115.)

24--29. Bolingbroke shows a wisely generous clemency, as in his

treatment of Aumerle. It is said that Carlisle was afterwards given a living in Gloucestershire and died in 1409.

25, 26. *reverend room*, sacred spot. *joy*, enjoy; cf. II. 3. 15.

29. *sparks*. Cf. V. 3. 21.

31. Richard is no longer Bolingbroke's "living fear" (V. 4. 2).

35. *A deed of slander*, a deed which brings disgrace upon.

37. *From your own mouth*, i.e. at Bolingbroke's own incitement (V. 4).

38—40. For Bolingbroke's attitude towards Exton cf. *Julius Caesar*, II. 1. 175—177:

"And let our hearts, as subtle masters do,
Stir up their servants to an act of rage,
And after seem to chide 'em."

Cf. also John's conduct towards Hubert in *King John*, IV. 2 after the incitement in III. 3. 59—69. Elizabeth has been credited with an attempt to pursue the same policy in regard to Mary Queen of Scots.

43. *thorough, through*; see G.

48. *sullen*, gloomy. *incontinent*, at once.

49. He repeats this announcement at the beginning of I *Henry IV*. His intention was frustrated by the troubles with Glendower and the Percies. He had been to the Holy Land already, 1390.

51, 52. For the "mournings" over Richard see **Extract 24**. He was buried at King's Langley; but "Henry V., whom as a boy Richard had treated with kindness, removed his body to the tomb at Westminster" (*Dictionary of National Biography*).

ADDENDUM.

The conception of the divine, irresponsible right of kings, so prominent in the Bishop's speech (IV. 1. 115—149) and elsewhere, is really an anachronism in *Richard II*. For in England this idea, which reached its zenith under the Stuarts, grew up under the Tudors, especially Elizabeth. Her reign also emphasised that "insularity" which (coupled with the idea of sea-power) has been ever since "the dominant note of British policy," and which is essentially summed up in Gaunt's speech (II. 1. 43—49). Shakespeare's history was coloured by the conditions and problems of his own age. Thus, again, the conception glanced at twice in *Henry V*. (Prologues II. 10, V. 30) of England as an "imperial" state (i.e. "imperial" in its relation to the other European powers, but not with the modern notion of a "Greater Britain") developed in Tudor times, after Henry VIII.'s breach with the Papacy.

GLOSSARY.

Abbreviations :—

A.S. = Anglo-Saxon, i.e. English down to about the Conquest.

Middle E. = Middle English, i.e. English from about the Conquest to about 1500.

Elizabethan E. = the English of Shakespeare and his contemporaries (down to about 1650).

O.F. = Old French, i.e. till about 1600. F. = modern French.

Germ. = modern German. Gk. = Greek.

Ital. = Italian. Lat. = Latin.

NOTE: In using the Glossary the student should pay very careful attention to the context in which each word occurs.

achieve, II. 1. 254, 'to win, gain'; from the notion 'to bring things successfully to a head' = O.F. *achever*, from Lat. *ad*, 'to' + *caput*, 'a head.'

adder, III. 2. 20; older form *nadder*; cf. Germ. *natter*, 'a snake.' To careless pronunciation we owe *an adder* for a *nadder*; *an apron* for a *napron* (cf. F. *nappe*, 'cloth'); and conversely a *newt* for an *ewt*.

alarm, I. 1. 205; properly 'a summons to take up arms,' from Ital. *all'arme*, 'to arms!'—Lat. *ad illa arma*. Now the other form *alarum* keeps the idea 'summons, call,' while *alarm* indicates the fear which such a summons indicates.

an. Note that—(1) *an* is a weakened form of *and* (*d* often drops off from the end of a word: cf. *lawn* = *laund*); (2) *and* = 'if' was a regular use till about 1600. Cf. Bacon, *Essays* (23), "they will set an house on fire, *and* it were but to roast their egges"; *Matthew* xxiv. 48, "But *and if* that evil servant shall say." The 1st Folio (1623) often has *and* where modern texts print *an*.

The phrase *and if* or *an if* really = 'if if,' since *and* or *an* by itself expresses the condition: *if* was added to strengthen it. How *and* or *an* came to have the meaning 'if' is doubtful; perhaps because the cognate Scandinavian word *enda* was also used = 'if.'

annoyance, III. 2. 16, 'injury.' Shakespeare always uses the verb in the strong sense 'to molest, harm.' So Milton speaks of Samson's strength being given him that he might 'annoy' the Philistines (*Samson Agonistes*, 578). Through O.F. *anoi*, 'vexation' (F. *ennui*), from Lat. *in odio*, as in the phrase *est mihi in odio*, 'it is odious to me.'

Antipodes, III. 2. 49; Gk. *ἀντιπόδες*, literally 'men with feet opposite to ours,' from *ἀντίπους* = Gk. *ἀντί*, 'opposite to' + *πούς*, 'a foot.' Hence 'those who are on the opposite side of the globe to ourselves.'

apricock, III. 4. 29; the old form of *apricot*. Lat. *præcoqua*, 'the early ripe fruit.' Cognate *precocious*, literally 'early ripe.'

apparent. I. 1. 13, IV. 1. 124, 'manifest' = Lat. *apparens*. Cf. *Richard III.* III. 5. 30, "apparent open guilt." It always has this sense in Milton; see *Paradise Lost*, IV. 608, X. 112.

appeal, I. 1. 9, 27, I: 3. 21. The general legal sense of *appeal* is "to accuse of a crime which the accuser undertakes, under penalties, to prove," especially in olden times to accuse of treason. Lat. *appellare*, 'to summon,' i.e. before a tribunal.

approve, I. 3. 112; 'literally 'to bring to the test' (Lat. *ad*, 'to' + *proba*, 'a trial'); and so 'to prove.'

argument, I. 1. 12, 'subject'; the literal sense of Lat. *argumentum*. Milton calls the subject of *Paradise Lost* "this great argument" (I. 24).

ask, II. 1. 159, 'require, need'; cf. *The Taming of the Shrew*, II. 115, 'Signior Baptista, my business asketh haste.' Cognate with Germ. *heischen*, 'to demand.'

aspect, I. 3. 209. Shakespeare always accents *aspect*. Many words now accented on the first syllable were in Elizabethan E. accented on the second syllable, i.e. they retained the French accent, which (roughly speaking) was that of the original Latin words. By "accent" one means, of course, the stress laid by the voice on any syllable in pronouncing it. Thus Milton wrote "By policy and long *procëss* of time" (*Par. Lost*, II. 297); cf. French *procès*, Lat. *processus*. So Shakespeare scans *accëss*, *edlët*, *exille*, when it suits him.

atone, I. 1. 202, 'to reconcile'; cf. *Othello*, IV. 1. 244, "I would do much to atone them." The central religious idea of *atonement* is reconciliation. Formed from *at one*, used in phrases like 'to make, to set, at one,' i.e. bring into a state of *oneness*, harmony.

attach, II. 3. 156; a legal term = 'to arrest.' Probably connected with *tack*, 'a nail' or 'a fastening'—i.e. literally *attach* = 'to tack to,' hence the idea 'to fasten on to,' 'get hold of.'

attainder; strictly a legal term for the consequences of being *attainted*, i.e. convicted of certain offences (from Lat. *attingere*, 'to reach'). The sense 'stain, soil' (IV. 1. 24) came from confusion with *taint*, 'a soil,' from Lat. *tingere*, 'to dye.'

attend, I. 3. 116, 'wait for' = F. *attendre*. Cf. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, I. 1. 279, "the dinner attends you"; *Hamlet*, v. 2. 205, "attend him in the hall."

attorney, II. 1. 203; literally 'one appointed,' and so 'one appointed to act for another': hence the contrast between doing a thing 'in person' (i.e. yourself) and 'by attorney' (i.e. through a substitute). From an O.F. verb *atorner*, 'to turn to,' hence 'to assign to, appoint.'

baffle, I. 1. 170; originally a term of chivalry for the "punishment of infamy inflicted on recreant knights, one part of which was *hanging them up by the heels*" (Nares). Cf. *The Faerie Queene*, VI. 7, where the motto says "Turpine is baffuld," and stanza 27 describes how:

"He [Arthur] by the heeles hū^g hung upon a tree,
And baffuld so."

Hence 'to treat contemptuously,' and now 'to foil, prevent.'

bait, IV. 1. 238; literally 'to make to bite' (Icelandic *beita*); to bait horses is to make them eat.

balm; properly the aromatic oily resin of the *balsam-tree*: hence any fragrant oil or ointment for anointing (III. 2. 55, IV. 1. 207) or soothing pain, healing wounds (I. 1. 172). Short for *balsam*.

barbed, III. 3. 117, 'equipped with a *barb* = a covering for the breast and flanks of a war-horse'; *barb* seems to be corrupted from *bard* = F. *barde*, 'horse-armour.' Cf. Holinshed, "the duke of Hereford, mounted on a white courser, *barded* with greene & blew velvet."

bay, II. 3. 128. 'To be at bay' means literally 'to be at the baying or barking of the hounds' = F. *être aux abois*. Short for *abay*; cf. F. *aboi*, 'barking.' (The connection with Lat. *baubari* is doubtful.)

be. The root *be* was conjugated in the present tense indicative, singular and plural, up till about the middle of the 17th century. The singular, indeed, was almost limited in Elizabethan E. to the phrase "if thou *beest*," where the indicative *beest* has the force of the subjunctive; cf. *The Tempest*, v. 134, "if thou be'st Prospero." For the plural, cf. *Genesis* xlii. 32, "We be twelve brethren," and *Matthew* xv. 14, "they be blind leaders of the blind."

beadsman; literally 'a man of prayer,' but commonly 'an almsman, inmate of a house of charity, who prays for the welfare of his benefactor'—so in III. 2. 116. Dr Murray gives several old compounds which have the same idea, e.g. *bead-child*, *bead-folk*, *bead-house*, *beads-woman*. A.S. *biddan*, 'to pray,' as in '*bidding-prayer*'; cf. Germ. *bitte*, *gebet*.

beholding, IV. 1. 160, 'indebted, under an obligation.' Cf. *The Merchant of Venice*, I. 3. 106, "Well, Shylock, shall we be beholding to you?" (i.e. will you lend the money?). Confused with the p. p. *beholden* = 'held,' and so 'held by a tie of obligation,' i.e. indebted.

beshrew; sometimes a mild imprecation 'woe to' (III. 2. 204), sometimes (with *me* or *my heart*) a phrase of emphasis 'indeed.' Originally 'to invoke something *shrewd*, i.e. bad, upon'; from the old sense of *shrewd*, which is the p. p. of *schreuen*, 'to curse.'

betide; 'to happen,' hence 'to happen to, befall' (III. 2. 91). Rare now except in "woe betide." From the prefix *be*, which gives a transitive force (cf. 'befall'), + Middle E. *tiden*, 'to happen'; cf. *tidings*, literally = 'things that happen, events,' then 'news' of them.

betimes; 'in good time, before it is too late'; hence 'early, soon' (II. 1. 36). Formed from *betime*, literally 'by the time that.'

bonnet, I. 4. 31, 'a covering for the head,' equally of men as of women, but made of soft material and without brim; cf. *Lycidas*, 104, "His mantle hairy, and his bonnet sedge."

boot, A.S. *bōt*, 'advantage, good,' from the same root as *better*, *best*. "There is no boot" (I. 1. 164) exactly = 'it is no good.' Common as an impersonal verb, e.g. "it boots not" (III. 4. 18) = 'it is no use to.'

caltiff, I. 2. 53; cognate with F. *chétif*, 'worthless, sorry.' The oldest sense in E., viz. 'prisoner,' points to the origin, Lat. *captivus*. Dr Murray quotes Wyclif, *Romans* xvi. 7, "myn euene caytifs, or prisoneris" (*euene* = 'even,' i.e. equal, "fellow-prisoners").

career, I. 2. 49; a word associated with tournaments = 'a horseman's charge at full speed, onset.' F. *carrière*, Lat. *carraria*, i.e. *carraria via*, 'a road for carriages'; hence 'a course suitable for swift motion.'

carouse, II. 1. 127; originally an adverb used in the phrase 'to drink carouse' = 'all out'; formed, like F. *carousser* (but independently of it) from Germ. *gar-aus*, 'quite out,' i.e. with no liquor left in the glass. It was a stock piece of Elizabethan satire that the Germans were great toppers; cf. *The Merchant of Venice*, I. 2. 90—108.

champion, I. 3. 5, 'one who undertakes to maintain or defend a cause in single combat.' Low Lat. *campio*, 'a combatant in a duel,' from *campus*, 'a field,' used in Low Lat. = 'a combat' (cf. 'field' = battle).

clean, III. 1. 10, 'entirely, quite.' Now colloquial, but not then. Cf. *Psalm* lxxvii. 8, "Is his mercy clean gone for ever?"

climate, IV. 1. 130, 'region, country'; similarly Shakespeare uses *clime* = 'region' or 'temperature.' Both come ultimately from Gk. *κλίμα*, 'slope, region.'

comfortable, II. 2. 74, 'comforting, full of comfort.' In Elizabethan writers the termination *-able*, now commonly passive, was often active = *-ful*; cf. 'tuneable' = 'tuneful' in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, I. 1. 184, "More tuneable than lark to shepherd's ear." So **deceivable** in II. 3. 84. We still have 'changeable,' 'peaceable.'

conceit, 'intellect, mental faculty'; hence 'conception' formed by the mind, e.g. a 'fanciful conception, idea' (II. 2. 33). Most people have favourable conceptions of themselves; hence the notion 'self-conceit' (III. 2. 166); cf. *Romans* xii. 16, "Be not wise in your own conceits."

confederate, v. 3. 53. A noticeable point in Elizabethan E. is the tendency to make the past participles of verbs of Latin origin conform with the Latin forms. This is the case especially with verbs of which the Latin originals belong to the 1st and 3rd conjugations. Thus Shakespeare and Milton have many participles like 'create' (*creatus*), 'consecrate' (*consecratus*), 'incorporate,' where the termination *-ate*, in modern English *-ated*, = Lat. *-atus*, the passive participial termination of the 1st conjugation.

So with the Latin 3rd conjugation; Latinised participles such as 'deject' (*dejectus*), 'attent' (*attentus*), 'suspect,' 'addict' (*addictus*), 'pollute' (*pollutus*) etc. are common in Shakespeare or Milton.

cousin; used by Shakespeare of any degree of kinship (except the first, as father, son); e.g. = 'niece' (II. 2. 103). Sometimes in Shakespeare *cousin* is merely a friendly title "given by princes to other princes and distinguished noblemen"—*Schmidt*.

cozen, II. 2. 67. According to the common (but not certain) explanation, to *cozen* a man is to pretend to be his *cousin* for the purpose of getting something out of him; whence 'to cheat.' Cf. F. *cousiner*, which Cotgrave (1611) explains, "to clayme kindred for advantage or particular ends; as he, who to save charges in travelling, goes from house to house, as cosin to the owner of everie one." There was an old phrase 'to make a *cousin* of' = 'to beguile, hoax.'

dastard, I. 1. 190. From a Scandinavian root meaning 'to be exhausted, weary,' with F. suffix *-ard*, which has a depreciative force; cf. *coward*, *drunkard* and *braggart* (where *d* is softened to *t*).

dear. The general Elizabethan sense of *dear* is 'that which affects

us closely, whether in a good or bad way.' Shakespeare often applies it to that which is strongly disagreeable; e.g. in *Henry V.* II. 2. 181, "all your dear offences," i.e. grievous. See I. 3. 151. The sense may have been influenced by confusion with A.S. *d'or*, grievous.

disburse, I. 1. 127. Cf. *bursar*, 'one who makes payments' (e.g. for a college), and *purse*, in which *b* has softened to *p*. F. *bourse*, Low Lat. *bursa* = Gk. *βύρση*, 'a skin,' of which *purses* are made.

doom, I. 3. 148, 'sentence, judgment.' Cf. *doomsday*; A.S. *dēman*, 'to judge,' whence *deem*. We get the same root in Gk. *θέμις*, 'law,' from *τίθημι*, 'I set'; the notion being 'something laid down—a decision.'

ear, III. 2. 212, 'to till, plough'; A.S. *erian*, from the Aryan root whence Gk. *ἀρᾶν*, 'to plough,' Lat. *arare*; cf. cognate Germ. *ären*. The word and its derivatives (e.g. *earer* = 'ploughman') occur in old writers. Way quotes Palsgrave's *Dictionary* (1512), "he hath eared his lande, God sent hym good innyng. To *erye* the earthe, *labourer*."

favour; often = 'face, features' (IV. 1. 168). So *well-favoured* = 'of good looks, handsome,' as in *Genesis* xxix. 17, "Rachel was beautiful and well favoured." Cf. **hard-favoured**, v. 1. 14. *Favour* meant (1) 'kindness,' (2) 'expression of kindness in the face,' (3) the face itself.

fell, I. 2. 46; A.S. *fel*, 'fierce, cruel'; akin to *felon*, the older sense of which was 'a fierce, savage man,' then 'one who robbed with violence,' and so any robber.

fiend, IV. 1. 270; literally 'a hating one,' being the present part. of A.S. *fōn*, 'to hate'; so 'an enemy.' As '*the fiend*' is Satan, "the Adversary" of man, *fiend* came to mean 'devil.'

foil, I. 3. 266, 'gold or silver leaf.' F. *feuille*, Lat. *folium*. Cf. Florio's *Dictionary* (1598), "Foglia, a leafe, a sheete, a foile to set vnder precious stones."

fond, v. 2. 94, 'foolish,' its old meaning. Hence **fondly** = 'foolishly' (III. 3. 185); cf. *Lycidas*, 56, "Ay me! I fondly dream." Originally *fond* was the p. p. of a Middle E. verb *fonnen*, 'to act like a fool,' from the noun *fon*, 'a fool.' The root is Scandinavian.

forfend, IV. 1. 129, 'to forbid.' From the prefix *for*, in a privative sense ('away') + *fend*, short for *defend*, 'to ward off'; cf. F. *défendre*, 'to forbid.'

forgo, I. 3. 160, 'give up, abandon'; *for* is the intensive prefix seen in *forget*, *forgive*,—cf. Germ. *ver*. Often misspelt *forego*, in which *fore* is the A.S. preposition *fore* = 'before,' Germ. *vor*.

fret, III. 3. 167, 'to wear,' i.e. form by wearing away. A.S. *fretan*, short for *for-etan*, 'to eat up,' (*for* being intensive). Cf. Germ. *fressen*.

glose, or **gloze**, II. 1. 10, 'to speak falsely, to flatter.' Middle E. *glosen* meant 'to make *glosses*, explain,' from Late Lat. *glossa*, Gk. *γλῶσσα*, which signified (1) the tongue, (2) a language, (3) a word, (4) an explanation of a word. The verb got the idea 'to explain *falsely*,' whence 'to deceive.' So *glozing* = 'deceptive'; cf. George Herbert, *The Dotage*, "False glozing pleasures." Especially used of flattering, false speech; cf. *Comus*, 161, "words of glozing courtesy."

heinous, IV. 1. 131; spelt *hainous* in the Folio, as often in old writers, e.g. in the original editions of *Paradise Lost*. F. *haineux*, 'hateful.'

his; this was the ordinary *neuter* (as well as masculine) possessive pronoun in Middle E. and remained so in Elizabethan E. Cf. *Genesis* iii. 15, "*it* shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise *his* heel." There was also a use, not common, of *it* (Middle E. *hit*) as a possessive, though uninflected; especially in the phrase *it own*. Cf. *The Tempest*, II. 1. 163, "of *it* own kind," and the Bible of 1611 in *Leviticus* xxv. 5, "of *it* owne accord." This possessive use of *it* without *own* to strengthen it seems to have been somewhat familiar in Elizabethan E., applied especially to children; cf. *The Winter's Tale*, I. 2. 101, "The innocent milk in *it* most innocent mouth."

Then from the possessive use of *it* uninflected there arose, about the close of the 16th century, the inflected form *its* in which -s is the usual possessive inflection, as in *his*. This new form *its* came into use slowly, the old idiom *his* being generally retained by Elizabethans. There are no instances of *its* in Spenser or the Bible (1611), and only three in Milton's poetical works (*Paradise Lost*, I. 254, IV. 813; *Nativity Ode*, 106). *Its* does not occur in any extant work of Shakespeare printed prior to his death: hence it seems not improbable that the nine instances in the 1st Folio (five in a single play, *The Winter's Tale*) were due to the editors or printers of the Folio.

holp, v. 5. 62; the form of the preterite of *help* (originally a 'strong' verb) used as a past participle, instead of *holpen*. "He hath holpen his servant Israel," *Luke* i. 54. Elizabethan writers often interchange the forms of preterites and past participles.

humour, v. 5. 10. It was an old belief that in the human body the four *elements* appear as four *humours*—fire=choler, water=phlegm, earth=melancholy or black bile, air=blood; and that a man's 'temperament' or nature depends upon the way in which these *humours* are 'tempered,' i.e. mixed, in him. So in Elizabethan E.

humour often has a wider sense than now, e.g. 'prevailing temper, disposition.' Cf. the titles of Ben Jonson's comedies, *Every Man in his Humour* and *Every Man out of his Humour*.

imp, II. I. 292, 'to renew, repair.' Cf. Milton's Sonnet to Fairfax:
"the false North displays

Her broken league to imp their serpent wings."

The term, taken from falconry, occurs in several of Massinger's plays, e.g. in *The Great Duke of Florence*, I. I, "Imp feathers to the broken wings of time." Middle E. *impen*, 'to graft'; an *imp* is literally 'a graft.'

imprese, or **impress**, III. I. 24, 'a heraldic device, with motto, on a coat of arms, scutcheon, shield.' Ital. *impresa*, 'a device, emblem,' literally 'something impressed, i.e. stamped.' See also p. 194, and cf. Milton, speaking of tournaments, *Paradise Lost*, IX. 34, 35:

"emblazoned shields,

Impresses quaint, caparisons and steeds."

inherit; then often **used** = 'to have, possess' (II. I. 83), without (as now) the notion of 'heirship' (Lat. *heres*, 'an heir'). So *inheritance* = 'possession,' e.g. in the Prayer-Book, "And bless thine inheritance"—that is, 'thy people, thy peculiar possession.' Hence 'to make to have' (I. I. 85).

just, V. 2. 52; another spelling of *joust*; cf. its cognates *justle* and *jostle*. The idea is 'to come close up to'; from Lat. *juxta*, 'close to.'

kern, II. I. 156; a corruption of Irish *ceatharnach*, 'a soldier.' These *kerns* were light-armed, and in Elizabethan writers are often mentioned together with the *gallowglasses*, the heavy-armed Irish foot-soldiers. Cf. 2 *Henry VI.* IV. 9. 24—27:

"The Duke of York is newly come from Ireland,

And with a puissant and a mighty power

Of *gallowglasses* and stout *kerns*

Is marching hitherward."

knots, III. 4. 46, 'flower-beds.' Cf. *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. I. 249, "thy curious-knotted garden," i.e. laid out in fancifully-designed beds; *Par. Lost*, IV. 242. The Elizabethan Dr Dee says, *Diary*, p. 3, "I hired Walter Hooper, to kepe my hedges and *knots* in good order."

lewd, I. I. 90. Its successive meanings were: (1) 'enfeebled,' A.S. *lêwed* (= *gelêwed*) being the past participle of *lêwan*, 'to weaken'; (2) 'ignorant'; (3) 'bad'; (4) 'lustful,' i.e. bad in a particular way. From (2) arose also the sense 'lay, belonging to the laity,' because the laity compared with the clergy were ignorant.

lief, v. 2. 49, 'dear'; cf. "my liefest liege" = 'my dearest lord,' 2 *Henry VI.* III. 1. 164. Akin to Germ. *lieb*; cf. *lieb haben*, 'to hold dear.' "I had as lief not" may be analysed—"I would consider (=have) it as pleasant a thing not to."

liege, 1. 1. 129, 'lord, sovereign'; properly 'free,' O. F. *lige* from the Teutonic root seen in Germ. *ledig*, 'free.' "A *liege* lord was a lord of a free band, and his *lieges* were privileged free men, faithful to him, but free from other service" (Skeat). Gradually *lieges* lost the notion 'free,' and came to mean 'subjects.' Probably some confusion of *liege* with Lat. *ligatus*, 'bound,' helped the change.

lists; properly 'movable barriers enclosing the space wherein a combat took place' (1. 3. 43); but more often used of the space so enclosed (1. 2. 52).

maim, 1. 3. 156. Literally 'to maim' is 'to render defective,' from Ital. *magagna*, 'a defect'; and *maimed* was the special term applied to a knight disabled from fighting by loss of a limb.

marry, corrupted from the name of the 'Virgin Mary'; cf. "by'r lady" = 'by our Lady,' i.e. the Virgin. Such expressions dated from the pre-Reformation times in England. The common meanings of *marry* are 'indeed, to be sure,' and 'why' as an expletive—some contempt being often implied.

methinks; methought. These are really *impersonal* constructions such as were much used in pre-Elizabethan E.; their meaning is, 'it seems, or seemed, to me.' The pronoun is a dative, and the verb is not the ordinary verb 'to think' = A.S. *þencan*, but an obsolete impersonal verb 'to seem' = A.S. *þyncan*. These cognate verbs got confused through their similarity; the distinction between them as regards usage and sense is shown in Milton's *Paradise Regained*, II. 266, "*Him thought* he by the brook of Cherith stood" = 'to him it seemed that' etc. Cf. their German cognates *denken*, 'to think,' used personally, and the impersonal *es dünkt*, 'it seems'; also the double use of Gk. *δοκεῖν*. For the old impersonal constructions cf. Spenser, *Prothalamion* 60, "*Them seem'd* they never saw a sight so fayre."

miscreant, 1. 1. 39, 'a vile wretch,' originally 'an unbeliever,' from Lat. *minus* + *credere*; cf. Ital. *miscredente*, 'heathen.'

moe, II. 1. 239. Middle E. *mo* from A.S. *má*, 'more, others,' indicated number; *more*, from A.S. *múra*, 'greater,' indicated magnitude; now *more* serves both purposes. The root of each is that which we get in the verb *may*. In Elizabethan E. *moe* is frequent; cf. *The Faerie Queene*, 1. 3. 35, "All these, and many evils *moe* haunt ire."

muster, II. 2. 106, 'to collect, assemble.' Properly a *muster* of troops is 'a display'; O.F. *mostre* from Lat. *monstrum*, literally = 'that which shows,' hence 'an omen.'

mutiny, IV. 1. 142, 'insurrection, rebellion'; not merely of soldiers, as now. Cognate with F. *émeute*; from the root of Lat. *movere*, 'to move,' the original idea being '*motion*, tumult.'

nicely, II. 1. 84, 'subtly.' *Nice* (Lat. *nescius*, 'ignorant') first meant 'foolish,' as in Chaucer; then 'foolishly particular, fastidious'; then 'subtly,' since fastidiousness implies drawing fine, subtle distinctions. The original notion 'foolish' often affects the Elizabethan uses of the word, which is noticeable as having improved in sense.

noisome, III. 4. 38; applied to weeds, it means 'noxious'; cognate with *annoy*, being short for '*anoisome*.'

owe, IV. 1. 185. Originally = 'to possess,' then 'to possess another's property,' and so 'to be in debt for.' For the sense 'to have, possess' cf. *Macbeth*, I. 4. 10, "To throw away the dearest thing he owed." Akin to *own*.

pageant, IV. 1. 321, 'spectacle'; originally = the moveable scaffold on which the old 'mystery-plays' and shows were acted. Lat. *pagina*, 'a page,' also 'a plank of wood,' and later 'a scaffold of planks' fastened together; cf. Lat. *pangere*, 'to fasten'—*Skeat*.

parle, I. 1. 192, 'conversation, conference'; especially between enemies. Cf. *King John*, II. 1. 205, "Our trumpet call'd you to this gentle parle." F. *parler*.

pawn, I. 1. 74, 'a pledge.' Lat. *panus*, 'a cloth,' the readiest thing to leave 'in pawn.' Cf. Germ. *pfand*, 'a pledge,' from *panus*.

peasant, IV. 1. 252. O.F. *paisant*, literally 'one who belongs to the country' (F. *pays*, Lat. *pagus*, 'a village, district').

pelting, II. 1. 60, 'paltry'; the words are akin, connected with Swedish *påter*, 'rags, rubbish'; cf. *King Lear*, II. 3. 18, "poor pelting villages," and *Measure for Measure*, II. 2. 112, "every pelting petty officer." Elizabethan writers use *pelter*, 'a mean person,' *peltry*, 'trash.'

pill, II. 1. 246, 'to plunder, pillage'; F. *pillier* from Lat. *pilare*, 'to deprive of hair' (Lat. *pila*). Also spelt *peel*; cf. *Paradise Regained*, IV. 135, 136:

"[They] govern ill the nations under yoke,
Peeling their provinces."

portcullis, I. 3. 167. Lat. *porta colatica*, 'a sliding door': *colatica* from *colare*, 'to flow,' whence F. *couler*, 'to flow,' *coulisse*, 'a slide,

groove.' A *portcullis* was a grating, made of timber or iron, sliding up and down in vertical grooves, and forming part of a gateway.

proof. From Fr. *preuve*, Low Lat. *proba*, a test, from Lat. *probare*; it was specially used of impenetrable armour, meaning the armour itself, or its resisting power, as in I. 3. 73. Of course, all steel used for armour, swords etc. is tested.

puny, III. 2. 86, 'petty'; literally 'younger,' F. *puis né*, Lat. *post natus*. Cf. "*Puisne Judge*," a judge of inferior rank.

pupil, v. 1. 31. Lat. *pupillus*, 'an orphan'; diminutive of *pupus*, 'a boy,' which is cognate with *puer*.

purchase. First to hunt after (O.F. *purchacer*=F. *pour*+*chasser*); "then to take in hunting; then to acquire; and then, as the commonest way of acquiring is by giving money in exchange, to buy." For the sense 'to acquire, gain,' see I. 3. 282, and I *Timothy* iii. 13, "they that have used the office of a deacon well purchase to themselves a good degree" (Revised Version 'gain').

quarrel, I. 2. 6, 37; strictly a legal term='a complaint against (Lat. *querela*) or plea in a law-court'; hence 'a cause.' Cf. *Psalms* xxxv. 23, "stand up to judge my quarrel" (Prayer-Book).

quit, v. 1. 43, 'to repay, *requite*.' Originally *quit* was an adj. and the same as *quiet*, Lat. *quiescens*, 'at rest,' in late Lat. used = 'clear of a debt' (i.e. at rest from it). Cf. F. *quittance*, 'a receipt.'

rather; literally 'sooner,' hence 'preferable,' being the comparative of *rath* or *rathe*, 'early, soon'; cf. *Lycidas*, 142, "the rathe primrose," i.e. the early. *I had rather* (IV. 1. 15) = 'I would consider it preferable'; cf. *I had as lief* (v. 2. 49).

ravel. "The original sense has reference to the untwisting of a string or woven texture, the ends of the threads of which become afterwards entangled"—*Skeat*. Shakespeare uses *ravel*=to entangle, as in *Macbeth*, II. 2. 37, "the ravelled sleeve (silk) of care," and *ravel out*=to unweave or disentangle; cf. IV. 1. 228, and *Hamlet*, III. 4. 186, "to ravel all this matter out."

recreant, I. 2. 53, 'a coward,' said of the knight who in a trial by combat owns himself vanquished and yields (Lat. *se recredit*) to his foe, thereby acknowledging his guilt.

repeal, II. 2. 49, in the literal sense 'to recall,' especially from exile; F. *rappeler* (Lat. *re*, 'back,' + *appellare*, 'to call').

rheum, I. 4. 8. In Shakespeare *rheum* has its original notion 'moisture,' 'flux'; and "*rheumatic diseases*" (*A Midsummer-Night's*

Dream, II. 1. 105) are those which produce a flux or flowing, e.g. catarrhs, coughs, cold. Gk. *πέυμα*, 'a flowing,' from *πέω*, 'to flow.'

rug-headed, II. 1. 156, 'with shaggy hair.' From Swedish *rugg*, 'rough entangled hair.' Cognate with *rugged* and *rough*.

ruth, III. 4. 106, 'pity.' Cf. *Troilus and Cressida*, v. 3. 48, "Spur them to ruthless work, rein them from ruth," where *ruthful* = 'piteous'; contrast *ruthless*. Akin to *rue*, 'to repent,' and Germ. *reue*, 'repentance.'

sad, v. 5. 70, 'gloomy,' from the common Elizabethan sense 'grave, serious,' as in *Henry V.* IV. 1. 318, "the sad and solemn priests"; and *Paradise Lost*, VI. 541, "in his face I see sad resolution." Originally = 'sated,' A.S. *sæd* being akin to Lat. *satis*, 'enough.'

secure, v. 3. 43. Elizabethan writers often use *secure* = 'too confident, careless,' = Lat. *securus*. Cf. *Henry V.* Chorus, IV. 17, where "the *confident* French" are described as "Proud of their numbers and secure in soul"; and Fletcher's quibbling lines:

"To secure yourselves from these,
Be not too secure in ease."

Hence **security** = 'carelessness' (III. 2. 34) and **securely** = 'confidently' (I. 3. 97), 'carelessly' (II. 1. 266).

self, I. 2. 23, 'selfsame'; the old sense, not uncommon in Elizabethan E. Cf. Morris, *Outlines of English Accidence*, p. 184 (Revised ed.): "Self was originally an adjective=same, as 'in that selve moment' (Chaucer)." Cf. Germ. *derselbe*, 'the same.'

sheer; literally 'clear, bright,' as pure water (v. 3. 61); cf. *The Faerie Queene*, III. 2. 44, "a fountaine sheer," and IV. 6. 20, "Pactolus with his waters sheer." Commonly figurative, e.g. 'sheer madness' i.e. clear, manifest. "A *sheer* descent is a clear (unbroken one)"—*Skeat*.

signory, III. 1. 21, 'estate, manor'; commonly spelt *seignory* from O.F. *seignorie*, 'the property of a *seigneur*' (= Ital. *signore*, Lat. *senior*). Cf. *domain* from *dominus*, 'a lord.'

sluice, I. 1. 103, 'to cause to flow out as from a flood-gate.' Through O.F. from Low Lat. *exclusa*, i.e. *exclusa aqua*, 'shut-off water,' and then 'the place where the water was shut off=the flood-gate.'

sterling, IV. 1. 264; 'of value, current,' the noun used as adjective. "A *sterling* coin; named from the *Esterlings* (i.e. easterlings, men of the east); this was a name for the Hanse merchants in London, temp. Henry III"—*Skeat*.

still. The radical meaning of the adj. *still* is 'abiding in its place'; hence = 'constantly, ever' as an adverb. Cf. "the still-vexed

Bermoothes," i.e. continually disturbed by storms, *The Tempest*, I. 2. 229.

taste; properly 'to make trial of by touching'; hence 'to experience, suffer' (III. 2. 176). Cf. F. *tâter*, 'to feel, try.' Ultimately from Lat. *tangere*, 'to touch.'

thorough, v. 6. 43; a later form of *through* (cf. Germ. *durch*). Then not uncommon; cf. Marlowe, *Faustus*, III. 106, "And make a bridge thorough the moving air." Cf. also Coleridge, *Ancient Mariner*, 64, "Thorough the fog it came." From this later form we have the adjective *thorough*='complete,' and *thoroughly*.

trespass, I. 1. 138. Through the French from Lat. *trans*, 'beyond'+*passus*, 'a step'; so that a *trespass* is a going too far, an overstepping the line. Cf. the metaphor in *offence*='a stumbling against.'

triumph, v. 2. 52; "a public festivity or exhibition of any kind, particularly a tournament"—*Schmidt*. Cf. Bacon's *History of Henry VII.*, "he kept great triumphs of jousting and tourney" (Pitt Press ed. p. 98). Lat. *triumphus*=Gk. *θπλαυφος*, 'a hymn to Bacchus.'

throw, II. 1. 218; literally 'to hold true' (A.S. *tréowe*); hence the general sense 'to hold,' i.e. think, be of opinion.

tucket, I. 3. 25 (*stage-direction* in Folio), 'a flourish, set of notes played on the trumpet or cornet as a signal.' Generally found in stage-directions; cf. Ben Jonson, *The Case is Altered*, I. 2, end, "*A tucket sounds. Excunt severally.*" Ital. *toccata*, 'a prelude, preliminary flourish on a musical instrument,' from *toccare*, 'to touch.'

unavoided, II. 1. 268, 'inevitable.' Elizabethan writers constantly treat the termination *-ed*, which belongs to the passive participle, as equal to the adjectival ending *-able*; especially with words which have the negative prefix *un-*. Cf. "unvalued jewels," i.e. invaluable, *Richard III.* I. 4. 27. So in Milton often; cf. *L'Allegro*, 40, "unreproved pleasures free"='not to be reprov'd, blameless.'

wanton. The radical sense is 'ill-restrained': *wan* being a negative prefix expressing *want*, deficiency, and the latter part of the word being connected with A.S. *tlon*, 'to draw.' For the prefix cf. the old words *wanhope*, 'despair,' *wantrust*, 'distrust.'

wert, III. 2. 73; the preterite of *wesan*, 'to be,' and an older form than *wast*. A still older form of the 2nd person was *were*; cf. *The Pilgrimage of the Lyf of Manhode*, "Litel thou were tempted, or litel thou were stired." Hence *wert* is an intermediate form between *were* and *wast* (not found till the 14th century)—*Morris*.

wistly, v. 4. 7; the Middle E. *wisly*, 'surely' or 'exactly,' used by

Shakespeare in the sense 'closely, attentively'; cognate with *wise* and *wit*, 'to know.' It has been confused with *wistful*, 'eager,' which is really *wishful*. See Skeat.

wreck; in the 1st Folio always spelt *wrack*, the usual form till late in the 17th century. Cf. *Macbeth*, v. 5. 51:

"Blow, wind! come, *wrack*!

At least we'll die with harness on our *back*."

In "*rack* and ruin" we should write *wrack*. From A.S. *wrecan*, 'to drive,' the *wrack* or *wreck* being that which is driven ashore.

yearn, v. 5. 76, 'to grieve'; cf. *Henry V.* iv. 3. 26, "It yearns me not if men my garments wear." Cf. *earn*, 'to grieve'; as in *The Faerie Queene*, III. 10. 21, "And ever his faint heart much earned at the sight." The form *earn* comes from A.S. *earnian*, 'to be sad (*earn*),' and *yearn* from *ge-earnian*, where *ge-* is merely a prefix that does not affect the sense. Cf. *ean* from *édnian*, and *y-ean* from *ge-ánian*. In each the prefix *ge-* has softened into *y-*. The A.S. adj. *earn*, 'poor, sad,' is akin to Germ. *arm*, 'poor.' (*Yearn*, 'to long for,' is a different word.)

ADDENDUM.

The word *imprese* (III. 1. 24) is illustrated by a discovery made in 1905, connected with Shakespeare's own life. The following reference to Shakespeare has come to light in the steward's account-books at Belvoir Castle, under the date March 31, 1613, and shows that he received 44 shillings:

"Item 31 Martij to Mr Shakespeare in gold about my Lordes Impreso xliiij s.

"To Richard Burbadge for paynting and making yt in gold xliiij s."

"It thus appears (says Sir Sidney Lee) that the dramatist joined with his friend and actor-colleague, Richard Burbage, in designing for the Earl of Rutland, who was a very close associate of his patron, the Earl of Southampton, an 'impresa,' i.e. a semi-heraldic pictorial badge with an attached motto, by which men of fashion set at the time much store. Elizabethan men of letters, in imitation of their Italian contemporaries, habitually applied their ingenuity to the invention of such fantastic devices for their patrons and for themselves. Ben Jonson was proud of an 'impresa' that he had designed for himself. Sir Philip Sidney was reckoned an expert in the pursuit. Samuel Daniel translated an Italian treatise on it, with abundance of original illustration. No Elizabethan writer deemed it beneath his dignity to identify himself with the prevailing taste"—*XIX Century Magazine*, May, 1905.

EXTRACTS FROM HOLINSHED THAT
ILLUSTRATE "RICHARD II."

ACT I.

The "bolsterous late appeal." Scene 1—6.

1. 'Henric, duke of Hereford, accused¹ Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norfolk, of certeine words which he should vtter² in talke had betwixt them, as they rode togither latelie before betwixt London and Brainford; sounding highlie to the kings dishonor. And for further prooffe thereof, he presented a supplication to the king, wherein he appealed³ the duke of Norfolk in field of battell, for a traitor, false and disloiall to the king, and enemie vnto the realmc. This supplication was red⁴ before both the dukes, in presense of the king; which doone, the duke of Norfolk tooke vpon him to answer it, declaring that whatsoeuer the duke of Hereford had said against him other than well, he lied falselie like an vntrue knight as he was. And, when the king asked of the duke of Hereford what he said to it, he, taking his hood off his head, said: "My souereigne lord, euen as the supplication which I tooke⁵ you importeth, right so I saie for truth, that Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norfolk, is a traitour, false and disloiall to your roiall maiestie, your crowne, and to all the states of your realmc."

'Then the duke of Norfolk being asked what he said to this, he answered: "Right deere lord, with your fauour that I make answer vnto your coosine here, I saie (your reuerence saued⁶) that Henric of Lancaster, duke of Hereford, like a false and disloiall traitor as he is, dooth lie, in that he hath or shall say of me otherwise than well."

¹ on January 30, 1398, before the Parliament held at Shrewsbury. ² was
alleged to have. ³ impeached. ⁴ read. ⁵ brought to you. ⁶ cf.
saving=with all respect to, meaning no offence to.

"No more," said the king, "we haue heard inough"; and herewith commanded the duke of Surrie, for that turne marshall of England, to arrest in his name the two dukes: the duke of Lancaster, father to the duke of Hereford, the duke of Yorke, the duke of Aumarle, constable of England, and the duke of Surrie, marshall of the realme, vnderooke as pledges¹ bodie for bodie for the duke of Hereford; but the duke of Northfolke was not suffered to put in pledges, and so vnder arrest was led vnto Windsor castell, and there garded with keepers that were appointed to see him safelie kept.⁷

Bolingbroke and Mowbray before the king at Windsor. Scene 1.

2. 'Now after the dissoluing of the parlement at Shrewsburie, there was a daie appointed about six weeks after, for the king to come vnto Windsor, to heare and to take some order² betwixt the two dukes, which had thus appealed ech other. There was a great scaffold erected within the castell of Windsor for the king to sit with the lords and prelates of his realme; and so, at the daie appointed, he with the said lords & prelates being come thither and set in their places, the duke of Hereford appellant³, and the duke of Norfolk defendant, were sent for to come & appeare before the king, sitting there in his seat of iustice. And then began sir Iohn Bushie to speake for the king; declaring to the lords how they should vnderstand, that where⁴ the duke of Hereford had presented a supplication to the king, who was there set to minister iustice to all men that would demand the same, as appertained to his roiall maiestie, he therefore would now heare what the parties could say one against an other: and withall the king commanded the dukes of Aumarle and Surrie, (the one being constable, and the other marshall,) to go vnto the two dukes, appellant and defendant, requiring them, on his behalfe, to grow⁵ to some agreement; and, for his part, he would be readie to pardon all that had been said or doone amisse betwixt them, touching anie harm or dishonor to him or his realme; but they answered both assuredlie, that it was not possible to haue anie peace or agreement made betwixt them.

'When he heard what they had answered, he commanded that they should be brought forthwith before his presence, to heare what they would say. Herewith an herald in the kings name with lowd voice commanded the dukes to come before the king, either of them to shew⁶

¹ sureties for his appearance.

² make some settlement of the dispute between.

³ challenger.

⁴ whereas.

⁵ come to.

⁶ to state his cause of complaint.

his reason, or else to make peace together without more delaie. When they were come before the king and lords, the king spake himselfe to them, willing¹ them to agree, and make peace together: "for it is" (said he) "the best waie ye can take." The duke of Norfolke with due reuerence herevnto answered, it could not be so brought to passe, his honor saued. Then the king asked of the duke of Hereford, what it was that he demanded of the duke of Norfolke, "and what is the matter that ye can not make peace together, and become friends?"

"Then stood forth a knight, who, asking and obtaining licence to speake for the duke of Hereford, said: "Right deare and souereigne lord, here is Henrie of Lancaster, duke of Hereford and earle of Derby, who saith, and I for him likewise say, that Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norfolke, is a false and disloiall traitor to you and your roial maiestie, and to your whole realme: and likewise the duke of Hereford saith, and I for him, that Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norfolke, hath receiued eight thousand nobles² to pay the souldiers that keepe your towne of Calis; which he hath not doone as he ought: and furthermore the said duke of Norfolke hath beene the occasion of all the treason that hath beene contriued in your realme for the space of these eighteene yeares, &, by his false suggestions³ and malicious counsell, he hath caused to die and to be murdered your right deere vncle, the duke of Glocester, sonne to king Edward. Moreouer, the duke of Hereford saith, and I for him, that he will proue this with his bodie against the bodie of the said duke of Norfolke within lists⁴." The king herewith waxed angrie, and asked the duke of Hereford, if these were his wordes; who answered: "Right deere lord, they are my wordes; and hereof I require right, and the battell against him."

"There was a knight also that asked licence to speake for the duke of Norfolke, and, obtaining it, began to answer thus: "Right deere souereigne lord, here is Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norfolke, who answereth and saith, and I for him, that all which Henrie of Lancaster hath said and declared (sauing the reuerence due to the king and his counsell) is a lie; and the said Henrie of Lancaster hath falselie and wickedlie lied as a false and disloiall knight, and both hath beene, and is, a traitor against you, your crowne, roiall maiestie, & realme. This will I proue and defend as becommeth a loiall knight to doo with my bodie against his: right deere lord, I beseech you therefore, and your

¹ desiring, requesting.

² a coin worth 6s. 8d.

³ incitements.

⁴ the space enclosed for the tournament.

councell, that it maie please you, in your roiall discretion, to consider and marke, what Henrie of Lancaster, duke of Hereford, such a one as he is, hath said."

"The king then demanded of the duke of Norfolke, if these were his words, and whether he had anie more to saie. The duke of Norfolke then answered for himselfe: "Right decre sir, true it is, that I haue receiued so much gold to paie your people of the towne of Calis; which I haue doone, and I doo auouch¹ that your towne of Calis is as well kept at your commandement² as euer it was at anie time before, and that there neuer hath beene by anie of Calis anie complaint made vnto you of me. Right deere and my souereigne lord, for the voiage that I made into France, about your marriage, I neuer receiued either gold or siluer of you, nor yet for the voiage that the duke of Aumarle & I made into Almanac³, where we spent great treasure. Marie, true it is, that once I laid an ambush to haue slaine the duke of Lancaster, that there sitteth; but neuerthelesse he hath pardoned me thereof, and there was good peace made betwixt vs, for the which I yeeld him hartie thanks. This is that which I haue to answer, and I am readie to defend my selfe against mine aduersarie; I beseech you therefore of right⁴, and to haue the battell against him in vpright iudgement."

'After this, when the king had communed with his councell a little, he commanded the two dukes to stand foorth, that their answers might be heard. The K. then caused them once againe to be asked, if they would agree and make peace together, but they both flatlie answered that they would not: and withall the duke of Hereford cast downe his gage⁵, and the duke of Norfolke tooke it vp. The king, perceiuing this demecanor betwixt them, sware by saint Iohn Baptist, that he would neuer seeke to make peace betwixt them againe. And therfore sir Iohn Bushie in name of the king & his councell declared, that the king and his councell had commanded and ordeined, that they should haue a daie of battell appointed them at Couentrie. ¶ Here writers disagree about the daie that was appointed: for some saie, it was vpon a mondaie in August; other vpon saint Lamberts daie, being the seuenteenth of September; other on the eleuenth of September: but true it is, that the king assigned them not onelie the daie, but also appointed them listes and place for the combat, and therevpon great preparation was made, as to such a matter appertained.'

¹ avow, assert.

² according to your commands.

³ Germany.

⁴ for justice.

⁵ threw down his glove as a challenge.

The Lists at Coventry. Banishment of Bolingbroke and Mowbray.

Scene 3.

3. 'At the time appointed the king came to Couentrie, where the two dukes were readie, according to the order prescribed therein; comming thither in great arraie, accompanied with the lords and gentlemen of their linages¹. The king caused a sumptuous scaffold or theater, and roiall listes there to be erected and prepared. The sunndaie before they should fight, after dinner, the duke of Hereford came to the king (being lodged about a quarter of a mile without the towne in a tower that belonged to sir William Bagot) to take his leaue of him. The morow after, being the day appointed for the combat, about the spring of the daie², came the duke of Norfolke to the court to take leaue likewise of the king. The duke of Hereford armed him in his tent, that was set vp neere to the lists; and the duke of Norfolke put on his armor, betwixt the gate & the barrier of the towne, in a beautifull house, hauing a faire perclois³ of wood towards the gate, that none might see what was doone within the house.

'The duke of Aumarle that daie, being high constable of England, and the duke of Surrie, marshall, placed themselues betwixt them, well armed and appointed⁴; and, when they saw their time, they first entered into the listes with a great companie of men apparellled in silke sendall⁵, imbrodered with siluer, both richlie and curioslie, euerie man hauing a tipped staffe to keepe the field in order. About the houre of prime⁶, came to the barriers of the listes the duke of Hereford, mounted on a white courser, barded⁷ with greene & blew veluet imbrodered sumptuouslie with swans and antelops of goldsmiths woorke; armed at all points. The constable and marshall came to the barriers, demanding of him what he was. He answered: "I am Henrie of Lancaster, duke of Hereford, which am come hither to doo mine indeuor⁸ against Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norfolke, as a traitor vntrue to God, the king, his realme, and me." Then incontinentlie⁹ he sware vpon the holie euangelists, that his quarrell was true and iust, and vpon that point he required to enter the lists. Then he put vp his sword, which before he held naked in his hand, and, putting downe his visor, made a crosse on his horsse; and, with speare in hand, entered into the lists, and descended from his horsse, and set him downe in a chaire of greene

¹ of their respective families.² daybreak.³ paling, fence.⁴ equipped.⁵ a fine silk-stuff.⁶ daybreak.⁷ i.e. barbed; see

Glossary.

⁸ to do my best against.⁹ immediately.

veluet, at the one end of the lists, and there reposed himselfe, abiding the comming of his aduersarie.

‘Soone after him, entred into the field with great triumph¹ king Richard, accompanied with all the peeres of the realme,... The king had there aboue ten thousand men in armour, least some fraie or tumult might rise amongst his nobles, by quarelling or partaking². When the king was set in his seat, (which was richlie hanged and adorned,) a king at armes made open proclamation, prohibiting all men in the name of the king, and of the high constable and marshall, to enterprise³ or attempt to approch or touch any part of the lists vpon paine⁴ of death, except such as were appointed to order or marshall the field. The proclamation ended, an other herald cried: “Behold here Henrie of Lancaster, duke of Hereford, appellant, which is entred into the lists roiall to doo his deuoir⁵ against Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norfolke, defendant; vpon paine to be found false and recreant!”

‘The duke of Norfolke howered on horssebacke at the entrie of the lists, his horsse being barded with crimosen veluet, imbrodered richlie with lions of siluer and mulberie trees; and, when he had made his oth before the constable and marshall that his quarrell⁶ was iust and true, he entred the field manfullie, saieng alowd: “God aid him that hath the right!” and then he departed from his horsse, & sate him downe in his chaire, which was of crimosen veluet, courtined about with white and red damaske. The lord marshall viewed their speares, to see that they were of equall length, and deliuered the one speare himselfe to the duke of Hereford, and sent the other vnto the duke of Norfolke by a knight. Then the herald proclaimed that the trauerses⁷ & chaires of the champions should be remooued; commanding them on the kings behalfe to mount on horssebacke, & addresse⁸ themselues to the battell and combat.

‘The duke of Hereford was quicklie horssed, and closed his bauier⁹, and cast his speare into the rest¹⁰, and when the trumpet sounded set forward couragiously towards his enemie six or seuen pases. The duke of Norfolke was not fullie set forward, when the king cast downe his warder¹¹, and the heralds cried, “Ho, ho!” Then the king caused their speares to be taken from them, and commanded them to repaire againe to their chaires, where they remained two long houres, while the king and his councill deliberatlie consulted what order¹² was best to

¹ ceremony.

² taking sides in the dispute.

³ try.

⁴ penalty.

⁵ duty.

⁶ cause.

⁷ screens.

⁸ make ready.

⁹ beaver, vizor of the

helmet.

¹⁰ couched his spear.

¹¹ truncheon.

¹² what was best to be done.

be had in so weightie a cause. Finallie, after they had deuised, and fullie determined what should be doone therein, the heralds cried silence; and sir Iohn Bushie, the kings secretarie, read the sentence and determination of the king and his counsell, in a long roll, the effect wherof was, that Henrie duke of Hereford should within fiteene daies depart out of the realme, and not to returne before the terme of ten yeares were expired, except by the king he should be repealed¹ againe, and this vpon paine of death; and that Thomas Mowbraie, duke of Norfolke, because he had sown sedition in the relme by his words, should likewise auoid² the realme, and neuer to returne againe into England, nor approach the borders or confines thereof vpon paine of death; and that the king would staie the profits of his lands, till he had leuied thereof such summes of monie as the duke had taken vp of³ the kings treasurer for the wages of the garrison of Calis, which were still vnpaid.

‘When these iudgements were once read, the king called before him both the parties, and made them to sweare that the one should neuer come in place where the other was, willinglie; nor keepe any company to gither in any forren region; which oth they both receiued humblye, and so went their waies. The duke of Norfolke departed sorowfullie out of the relme into Almanie, and at the last came to Venice, where he for thought⁴ and melancholie decessed: for he was in hope (as writers record) that he should haue bene borne out⁵ in the matter by the king, which when it fell out otherwise, it greeued him not a little. The duke of Hereford tooke his leaue of the king at Eltham, who there released foure yeares of his banishment: so he tooke his iornie ouer into Calis, and from thence went into France, where he remained.

‘A woonder it was to see what number of people ran after him in euerie towne and street where he came, before he tooke the sea; lamenting and bewailing his departure, as who would saie, that when he departed, the onelie shield, defense, and comfort of the common-wealth was vaded⁶ and gone.’

The Irish Wars. Scene 4. 38—52.

4. ‘In this meane time the king being aduertised⁷ that the wild Irish dailie wasted and destroied the townes and villages within the English pale⁸, and had slaine manie of the souldiers which laie there

¹ recalled.
⁵ supported.

² leave.
⁶ departed.

³ received from.
⁷ informed.

⁴ despondency, depression.
⁸ the ‘sphere’ of English rule.

in garison for defense of that countrie, determined to make eftsoones¹ a voiage thither, & prepared all things necessarie for his passage now against² the spring.'

ACT II.

Death of Gaunt. Richard seizes Bolingbroke's inheritance.

Scene 1. 155—162.

5. 'In this meane time [Feb. 3, 1399], the duke of Lancaster departed out of this life at the bishop of Elies place in Holborne. The death of this duke gaue occasion of increasing more hatred in the people of this realme toward the king, for he seized into his hands all the goods that belonged to him, and also receiued all the rents and reuenues of his lands which ought to haue descended vnto the duke of Hereford by lawfull inheritance; in reuoking his letters patents, which he had granted to him before, by vertue wherof he might make his attorneis generall to sue liuerie³ for him, of any maner of inheritances or possessions that might from thencefoorth fall vnto him; and that his homage might be respited, with making reasonable fine: whereby it was euident, that the king meant his vtter vndooing.'

York's protest. Scene 1. 163—214.

6. 'This hard dealing was much misliked of all the nobilitie, and cried out against of the meaner sort⁴; but namelie⁵ the duke of Yorke was therewith sore mooued; who, before this time, had borne things with so patient a mind as he could, though the same touched him verie neere, as the death of his brother the duke of Glocester, the banishment of his nephue the said duke of Hereford, and other mo iniuries in great number; which, for the slipperie⁶ youth of the king, he passed ouer for the time, and did forget aswell as he might. But now perceiuing that neither law, iustice, nor equitie could take place, where the kings wilfull will was bent vpon any wrongfull purpose,...he thought it the part of a wise man to get him in time to a resting place,...

'Herevpon he with the duke of Aumarle his sonne went to his house at Langlie.'

¹ soon after. ² in readiness for.
behalf. ⁴ by the lower classes.

³ claim possession of his estates on his
⁵ especially. ⁶ fickle, unsteady.

Richard goes to Ireland. Scene 1. 217—223.

7. 'When these iusts¹ were finished, the king departed toward Bristow, from thence to passe into Ireland; leauing the queene with hir traine still at Windesor: he appointed for his lieutenant generall in his absence his vnkle the duke of Yorke: and so in the moneth of Aprill, as diuerse authors write, he set forward from Windesor, and finallie tooke shipping at Milford, and from thence, with two hundred ships, and a puissant power² of men of armes and archers, he sailed into Ireland.'

Bolingbroke invited back from exile. Scene 1. 277—300.

8. 'Diuerse of the nobilitie, aswell prelatz as other, and likewise manie of the magistrats and rulers of the cities, townes, and comunaltie, here in England, perceiuing dailie how the realme drew to vtter ruine, not like to be recouered to the former state of wealth whilst king Richard liued and reigned, (as they tooke it,) deuised with great deliberation, and considerate aduise³, to send and signifie by letters vnto duke Henrie, whome they now called (as he was in deed) duke of Lancaster and Hereford, requiring him with all conuenient speed to conueie himselfe into England; promising him all their aid, power, and assistance, if he, expelling K. Richard, as a man not meet for the office he bare, would take vpon him the scepter, rule, and diademe of his natie land and region.

'He, therefore, being thus called vpon by messengers and letters from his freends, and cheeflie through the earnest persuation of Thomas Arundell, late archbishop of Canturburie, who...had beene remooued from his see, and banished the realme by king Richards means, got him downe to Britaine⁴, together with the said archbishop; where he was ioifullie receiued of the duke and duchesse, and found such freendship at the dukes hands, that there were certeine ships rigged, and made readie for him, at a place in base⁵ Britaine called Le port blanc, as we find in the chronicles of Britaine; and, when all his prouision was made readie, he tooke the sea, together with the said archbishop of Canturburie, and his nephue Thomas Arundell, sonne and heire to the late earle of Arundell, ... There were also with him, Reginald lord Cobham, sir Thomas Erpingham, and sir Thomas Ramston, knights, Iohn Norburie, Robert Waterton, & Francis Coint, esquires: few else were there, for

¹ tournaments.² force.³ careful consideration.⁴ Brittany.⁵ lower.

(as some write) he had not past fiteene lances, as they tearmed them in those daies, that is to saie, men of armes, furnished and appointed as the vse then was. ¶ Yet other¹ write, that the duke of Britaine deliuered vnto him three thousand men of warre, to attend him, and that he had eight ships well furnished for the warre, where *Froissard* yet speaketh but of three. Moreouer, where² *Froissard* and also the chronicles of Britaine auouch, that he should³ land at Plimmouth, by our English writers it seemeth otherwise; for it appeareth by their assured report, that he, approching to the shore, did not streight take land, but lay houering aloofe, and shewed himselfe now in this place, and now in that, to see what countenance⁴ was made by the people, whether they meant enuiously⁵ to resist him, or frendlie to receiue him.'

Bolingbroke lands in Yorkshire. Scene 2. 49—61.

9. 'The duke of Lancaster, after that he had coasted alongst the shore a certeine tyme, & had got some intelligence how the peoples minds were affected towards him, landed about the beginning of Iulie in Yorkshire, at a place sometime called Rauenspur, betwixt Hull and Bridlington; and with him not past threescore persons, as some write: but he was so ioifullie receiued of the lords, knights, and gentlemen of those parts, that he found means (by their helpe) forthwith to assemble a great number of people, that were willing to take his part. The first that came to him were the lords of Lincolneshire, and other countries adioining; as the lords Willoughbie, Ros, Darcie, and Beaumont.'

Bolingbroke marches south and meets York. Scene 3.

10. 'At his [Bolingbroke's] comming vnto Doncaster, the earle of Northumberland, and his sonne, sir Henrie Persie, wardens of the marches against Scotland, with the earle of Westmerland, came vnto him; where he sware vnto those lords, that he would demand no more, but⁶ the lands that were to him descended by inheritance from his father, and in right of his wife. Moreouer, he vndertooke to cause the paiement of taxes and tallages⁷ to be laid⁸ downe, & to bring the king to good gouernment, & to remooue from him the Cheshire men, which were enuied of manie; for that the king esteemed of them more than of anie other; happilie, bicause they were more faithfull to him than other,

¹ others.

² whereas.

³ did.

⁴ reception of him.

⁵ hostilely

⁶ than.

⁷ taxings, imposts.

⁸ put.

readie in all respects to obeie his commandements and pleasure. From Doncaster, hauing now got a mightie armie about him, he marched forth with all speed through the countries, comming by Euesham vnto Berkelie: within the space of three daies, all the kings castels in those parts were surrendred vnto him.

'The duke of Yorke, whome king Richard had left as gouernour of the realme in his absence, hearing that his nephue the duke of Lancaster was thus arriued, and had gathered an armie, he also assembled a puissant power of men of armes and archers; (as before yee haue heard;) but all was in vaine, for there was not a man that willinglie would thrust out one arrow against the duke of Lancaster, or his partakers¹, or in anie wise offend him or his freends. The duke of Yorke, therefore, passing forth towards Wales to meet the king, at his comming forth of Ireland, was receiued into the castell of Berkelie, and there remained, till the comming thither of the duke of Lancaster, [to] whom (when he perceiued that he was not able to resist, on the sundaie, after the feast of saint Iames, which, as that yeare came about, fell vpon the fridaie) he came forth into the church that stood without² the castell, and there communed with the duke of Lancaster. With the duke of Yorke were the bishop of Norwich, the lord Berkelie, the lord Seimour, and other; with the duke of Lancaster were these: Thomas Arundell, archbishop of Canturburie, (that had beene banished,) the abbat of Leicester, the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, Thomas Arundell, sonne to Richard, late earle of Arundell, the baron of Greistoke, the lords Willoughbie and Ros, with diuerse other lords, knights, and other people, which dailie came to him from euerie part of the realme: those that came not were spoiled of all they had, so as³ they were neuer able to recouer themselues againe, for their goods, being then taken awaie, were neuer restored. And thus, what for⁴ loue, and what for feare of losse, they came flocking vnto him from euerie part.'

Dispersion of Richard's Welsh army. Scene 4.

11. 'In the meane time, he sent the earle of Salisburie ouer into England, to gather a power together, by helpe of the kings freends in Wales, and Cheshire, with all speed possible; that they might be readie to assist him against the duke, vpon his arriual, for he meant himselfe to follow the earle, within six daies after. The earle, passing ouer into

¹ partisans, supporters.

² outside.

³ that.

⁴ partly out of

Wales, landed at Conwaie, and sent foorth letters to the kings freends, both in Wales and Cheshire, to leaue their people, & to come with all speed to assist the K., whose request, with great desire, & very willing minds, they fulfilled, hoping to haue found the king himself at Conwaie; insomuch that, within foure daies space, there were to the number of fortie thousand men assembled, readie to march with the king against his enimies, if he had beene there himselfe in person.

'But, when they missed the king, there was a brute¹ spread amongst them, that the king was suerlie dead; which wrought such an impression, and euill disposition, in the minds of the Welshmen and others, that, for² anie persuasion which the earle of Salisburie might vse, they would not go foorth with him, till they saw the king: onelie they were contented to staie foureteene daies to see if he should come or not; but, when he came not within that tearme, they would no longer abide, but scaled³ & departed awaie; wheras if the king had come before their breaking vp, no doubt, but they would haue put the duke of Hereford in aduenture of a field⁴: so that the kings lingering of time, before his comming ouer, gaue opportunitie to the duke to bring things to passe as he could haue wished, and tooke from the king all occasion⁵ to recouer afterwards anie forces sufficient to resist him.

'In this yeare in a manner throughout all the realme of England, old baie trees withered, and, afterwards, contrarie to all mens thinking, grew greene againe; a strange sight, and supposed to import some vnknowne euent.'

ACT III.

Death of Richard's favourites. Scene 1.

12. 'The forsaid dukes, with their power, went towards Bristow, where (at their comming) they shewed themselues before the towne & castell; being an huge multitude of people. There were inclosed within the castell, the lord William Scroope, earle of Wiltshire and treasurer of England, sir Henrie Greene, and sir Iohn Bushie, knights, who prepared to make resistance; but, when it would not preuaile, they were taken and brought foorth bound as prisoners into the campe, before the duke of Lancaster. On the morow next insuing, they were arraigned before the constable and marshall, and found gilty of treason,

¹ report.

² in spite of.

³ scattered.

⁴ given battle to.

⁵ opportunity.

for misgouerning the king and realme; and foorthwith had their heads smit off.'

Richard lands in Wales. Scene 2.

13. 'At length, about eighteene daies after that the king had sent from him the earle of Salisburie, he tooke the sea, together with the dukes of Aumarle, Excester, Surrie, and diuerse others of the nobilitie, with the bishops of London, Lincolne, and Carleill. They landed neere the castell of Barclowlie in Wales, about the feast of saint Iames the apostle, and staid a while in the same castell, being aduertised¹ of the great forces which the duke of Lancaster had got together against him; wherewith he was maruellouslie amazed, knowing certeinlie that those, which were thus in armes with the duke of Lancaster against him, would rather die than giue place, as well for the hatred as feare which they had conceiued at him. Neuerthelesse he, departing from Barclowlie, hasted with all speed towards Conwaie, where he vnderstoode the earle of Salisburie to be still remaining.

'He therefore taking with him such Cheshire men as he had with him at that present (in whom all his trust was reposed) he doubted not to reuenge himselfe of his aduersaries, & so at the first he passed² with a good courage; but when he vnderstood, as he went thus forward, that all the castels, euen from the borders of Scotland vnto Bristow, were deliuered vnto the duke of Lancaster; and that likewise the nobles and commons, as well of the south parts, as the north, were fullie bent to take part with the same duke against him; and further, hearing how his trustie counsellors had lost their heads at Bristow, he became so greatlie discomforted, that sorowfullie lamenting his miserable state, he vtterlie despaired of his owne safetie, and calling his armie together, which was not small, licenced³ euerie man to depart to his home.

'The souldiers, being well bent to fight in his defense, besought him to be of good cheere, promising with an oth to stand with him against the duke, and all his partakers vnto death; but this could not incourage him at all, so that, in the night next insuing, he stole from his armie, and, with the dukes of Excester and Surrie, the bishop of Carleill, and sir Stephan Scroope, and about halfe a score others, he got him to the castell of Conwaie, where he found the earle of Salisburie; determining there to hold himselfe, till he might see the world at some better staie⁴;

¹ informed.

² marched.

³ gave permission to.

⁴ see a more

favourable turn of things.

for what counsell to take to remedie the mischeefe thus pressing vpon him he wist not.'

Richard at Flint Castle. Scene 3. 1—183.

14. 'King Richard being thus come vnto the castell of Flint, on the mondaie, the eighteenth of August, and the duke of Hereford being still aduertised from houre to houre by posts, how the earle of Northumberland sped, the morow following being tuesdaie, and the nineteent of August, he came thither, & mustered his armie before the kings presence; which vndoubtedlie made a passing¹ faire shew, being verie well ordered by the lord Henrie Persie, that was appointed generall, or rather (as we maie call him) master of the campe, vnder the duke, of the whole armie'...'The king...was walking aloft on the braies² of the wals, to behold the comming of the duke a farre off.'

Meanwhile Northumberland 'came before the towne, and then sending an herald to the king, requested a safe conduct³ from the king, that he might come and talke with him; which the king granted, and so the earle of Northumberland, passing the water, entred the castell, and comming to the king, declared to him, that, if it might please his grace to vndertake, that there should be a parlement assembled, in the which iustice might be had against such as were enimies to the commonwealth, and had procured the destruction of the duke of Glocester, and other noblemen, and herewith pardon the duke of Hereford of all things wherin he had offended him, the duke would be readie to come to him *on his knees*, to craue of him forgiuenesse, and, as an humble subiect, to obeie him in all dutifull seruices.'

Richard and Bolingbroke. Scene 3. 184—209.

15. Afterwards Bolingbroke approached the castle and 'compassed it round about, euen downe to the sea, with his people ranged in good and scemelic order at the foot of the mounteins: and then the earle of Northumberland, passing foorth of the castell to the duke, talked with him a while in sight of the king, being againe got vp to the walles, to take better view of the armie, being now advanced within two bowe shootes of the castell, to the small reioising (ye may be sure) of the sorowfull king. The earle of Northumberland, returning to the castell, appointed the king to be set to dinner (for he was fasting till then) and, after he had dined, the duke came downe to the castell himselfe, and

¹ exceedingly.

² parapet.

³ escort or warranty to approach.

entred the same all armed, his bassenet¹ onelie excepted; and being within the first gate, he staid there, till the king came forth of the inner part of the castell vnto him.

'The king, accompanied with the bishop of Carleill, the earle of Salisburie, and sir Stephan Scroope, knight, (who bare the sword before him,) and a few other, came forth into the vtter² ward, and sate downe in a place prepared for him. Foorthwith, as the duke got sight of the king, he shewed a reuerend dutie as became him, in bowing his knee, and, comming forward, did so likewise the second and third time, till the king tooke him by the hand, and lift him vp, saieng: "Deere cousine, ye are welcome." The duke, humblie thanking him, said: "My souereigne lord and king, the cause of my comming at this present, is (your honor saued) to haue againe restitution of my person, my lands and heritage, through your fauourable licence." The king hervnto answered: "Deere cousine, I am readie to accomplish your will, so that ye may inioy all that is yours, without exception."

'Meeting thus together, they came forth of the castell, and the king there called for wine, and, after they had dronke, they mounted on horssebacke, and rode to London.'

ACT IV.

The charges against Aumerle. Scene 1. 1—106.

16. 'There was no man in the realme to whom king Richard was so much beholden, as to the duke of Aumarle: for he was the man that, to fulfill his mind³, had set him in hand with⁴ all that was doone against the said duke, and the other lords....There was also contained in the said bill⁵, that Bagot had heard the duke of Aumarle say, that he had rather than twentie thousand pounds that the duke of Hereford were dead; not for anie feare he had of him, but for the trouble and mischeefe that he was like to procure⁶ within the realme.

'After that the bill had beene read and heard, the duke of Aumarle rose vp and said, that as touching the points contained in the bill concerning him, they were vtterlie false and vntrue; which he would proue with his bodie, in what manner soeuer it should be thought requisit....

¹ steel headpiece. ² outer. ³ to please Richard. ⁴ had instigated him to. ⁵ a statement drawn up by Bagot; read to the Parliament, October 16, 1399. ⁶ cause.

'On the saturday next insuing [Oct. 18], sir William Bagot and the said John Hall¹ were brought both to the barre², and Bagot was examined of certeine points, and sent againe to prison. The lord Fitzwater herewith rose vp, and said to the king, that where³ the duke of Aumarle excuseth himselfe of the duke of Glocester's death, "I say" (quoth he) "that he was the verie cause of his death"; and so he appealed him of treason, offering by throwing downe his hood as a gage to proue it with his bodie. There were twentie other lords also that threw downe their hoods, as pledges to proue the like matter against the duke of Aumarle. The duke of Aumarle threw downe his hood to trie it against the lord Fitzwater, as against him⁴ that lied falselic, in that he had charged him with, by that his appeale. These gages were deliuered to the constable and marshall of England, and the parties put vnder arrest.

'The duke of Surrie stood vp also against the lord Fitzwater, auouching that where he had said that the appellants were causers of the duke of Glocesters death, it was false, and therewith he threw downe his hood. Moreouer, where it was alledged that the duke of Aumarle should send two of his seruants to Calis, to murder the duke of Glocester, the said duke of Aumarle said, that if the duke of Norfolke affirme it, he lied falselic, and that he would proue with his bodie; throwing downe an other hood which he had borrowed. The same was likewise deliuered to the constable and marshall of England, and the king licenced the duke of Norfolke to returne, that he might arraigne his appeale.'

Richard resigns the crown. Scene 1. 107—110.

17. Richard was lodged⁵ in the Tower, where 'diuerse of his seruants, which by licence had accesse to his person, comforted him (being with sorrow almost consumed, and in manner halfe dead) in the best wise they could, exhorting him to regard his health, and saue his life.

'And first, they aduised him willinglie to suffer himselfe to be deposed, and to resigne his right of his owne accord, so that the duke of Lancaster might without murder or battell obtaine the scepter and diademe, after which (they well perceiued) he gaped⁶: by meane whereof they thought he might be in perfect assurance of his life long to continue. Whether this their perswasion proceeded by the suborning⁷

¹ a valet of Mowbray.

² in Westminster Hall.

³ whereas.

⁴ one.

⁵ Probably on the second day (September 2nd, 1399) after his arrival in London.

⁶ for which he longed.

⁷ secret instigation.

of the duke of Lancaster and his fauourers, or of a sincere affection which they bare to the king, as supposing it most sure in such an extremitie, it is vncerteine; but yet the effect followed not, howsoever their meaning was: notwithstanding, the king, being now in the hands of his enimes, and vtterlie despairing of all comfort, was easilie persuaded to renounce his crowne and princelie preheminance, so that, in hope of life onclie, he agreed to all things that were of him demanded. And so (as it should seeme by the copie of an instrument¹ hereafter following) he renounced and voluntarilie was deposed from his roiall crowne and kinglie dignitie; the mondaie being the nine and twentieth daie of September, and feast of S. Michaell the archangell, in the yeare of our Lord 1399, and in the three and twentieth yeare of his reigne.'

Richard announces his own resignation before Bolingbroke.

Scene 1. 162—222.

18. Later on that day² Bolingbroke saw Richard at the Tower, and 'with glad countenance...[Richard] said openlie that he was readie to renounce and resigne all his kinglie maiestie in maner and forme as he before had promised. And although he had and might sufficientlie haue declared his renouncement by the reading of an other meane person³; yet, for the more suertie of the matter, and for that⁴ the said resignation should haue his full force and strength, himselfe therefore read the scroll of resignation.'

Richard's resignation proclaimed before the Lords and Commons.

His "manifold crimes and defaults." Scene 1. 222—243.

19. Having signed the "instrument" of his resignation, Richard desired 'the archbishop of Yorke, & the bishop of Hereford, to shew and make report vnto the lords of the parlement of his voluntarie resignation, and also of his intent and good mind that he bare towards his cousin the duke of Lancaster, to haue him his successour and their king after him.

'On the last daie of September, all the lords spirituall and temporall, with the commons of the said parlement [of September 30, 1399], assembled at Westminster, where, in the presence of them, the archbishop

¹ document.
that.

² September 29, 1399.

³ some subordinate.

⁴ in order

of Yorke, and the bishop of Hereford, according to the kings request, shewed vnto them the voluntarie renouncing of the king, with the fauour also which he bare to his cousine of Lancaster to haue him his successour. And moreouer shewed them the schedule or bill of renouncement, signed with king Richards owne hand; which they caused to be read first in Latine, as it was written, and after in English. This doone, the question was first asked of the lords, if they would admit and allow that renouncement: the which when it was of them granted and confirmed, the like question was asked of the commons, and of them in like manner confirmed. After this, it was then declared, that, notwithstanding the foresaid renouncing, so by the lords and commons admitted and confirmed, it were necessarie, in auoiding of all suspicions and surmises of euill disposed persons, to haue in writing and registred the manifold crimes and defaults before doone by king Richard, to the end that they might first be openlie declared to the people, and after to remaine of¹ record amongst other of the kings records for euer.

'All this was doone accordinglie, for the articles, which before yee haue heard, were drawne and ingrossed² vp, and there shewed readie to be read.'

Bolingbroke assumes the crown. Scene I. III—III3.

20. 'Immediatlie as the sentence was in this wise passed, and that by reason thereof the realme stood void without head or gouernour for the time, the duke of Lancaster, rising from the place where before he sate, and standing where all those in the house might behold him, in reuerend manner made a signe of the crosse on his forehead, and likewise on his brest, and, after silence by an officer commanded, said vnto the people, there being present, these words following.

The duke of Lancaster laieth challenge
or claime to the crowne.

"In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, & of the Holie-ghost. I Henrie of Lancaster claime the realme of England and the crowne, with all the appurtenances, as I that am descended by right³ line of the blood comming from that good lord king Henrie the third; and through the right that God of his grace hath sent me, with the helpe of my kin, and of my freends, to recouer the same, which was in point to⁴ be vndoone for default of good gouernance and due iustice."

'After these words thus by him vttered, he returned and sate him

¹ on.

² copied out.

³ legitimate.

⁴ about to.

downe in the place where before he had sitten. Then the lords hauing heard and well perceiued this claime thus made by this noble man, ech of them asked of other what they thought therein. At length, after a little pausing or staie made, the archbishop of Canturburie, hauing notice of the minds of the lords, stood vp & asked the commons if they would assent to the lords, which in their minds thought the claime of the duke made, to be rightfull and necessarie for the wealth of the realme and them all: whereto the commons with one voice cried, "Yea, yea, yea!"

Carlisle's protest. Scene I. 114—149.

21. 'Request was made by the commons, that sith¹ king Richard had resigned, and was lawfullie deposed from his roiall dignitie, he might haue iudgement decreed against him, so as the realme were² not troubled by him, and that the causes of his deposing might be published through the realme for satisfieng of the people: which demand was granted. Wherevpon the bishop of Carleill, a man both learned, wise, and stout of stomach³, boldlie shewed forth his opinion concerning that demand; affirming that there was none amongst them woorthie or meet to giue iudgement vpon so noble a prince as king Richard was, whom they had taken for their souereigne and liege lord, by the space of two & twentie yeares and more: "And I assure you" (said he) "there is not so ranke a traitor, nor so errant⁴ a theef, nor yet so cruell a murderer apprehended⁵ or detained in prison for his offense, but he shall be brought before the iustice to heare his iudgement; and will ye proceed to the iudgement of an anointed king, hearing neither his answer nor excuse? I say, that the duke of Lancaster, *whom ye call king*, hath more trespassed to K. Richard & his realme, than king Richard hath doone either to him, or vs:"...As soone as the bishop had ended this tale, he was attached⁶ by the earle marshall, and committed to ward in the abbeie of saint Albons.'

ACT V.

Richard's removal to Pomfret Castle. Scene I. 51, 52.

22. 'Shortlie after his resignation, he was conueied to the castell of Leeds in Kent, & from thence to Pomfret, where he departed out of this miserable life (as after you shall heare).'

¹ since. ² so that the realm might not be. ³ of a bold spirit. ⁴ arrant,
notoriously bad. ⁵ arrested. ⁶ taken into custody.

Richard's death. Scenes 4, 5. 95-119.

23. 'One writer, which seemeth to haue great knowledge of king Richards dooings, saith, that king Henrie, sitting on a daie¹ at his table, sore sighing, said: "I haue I no faithfull freend which will deliuer me of him, whose life will be my death, and whose death will be the preservation of my life?" This saieng was much noted of them which were present, and especiallie of one called sir Piers of Exton. This knight incontinentlie departed from the court, with eight strong persons in his companie, and came to Pomfret, commanding the esquier, that was accustomed to sew² and take the assaie³ before king Richard, to doo so no more, saieng: "Let him eat now, for he shall not long eat." King Richard sat downe to dinner, and was serued without courtesie or assaie; wherevpon, much maruelling at the sudden change, he demanded⁴ of the esquier whie he did not his dutie: "Sir" (said he) "I am otherwise commanded by sir Piers of Exton, which is newlie come from K. Henrie." When king Richard heard that word, he tooke the keruing knife in his hand, and strake the esquier on the head, saieng: "The diuell take Henrie of Lancaster and thee together!" And with that word, sir Piers entred the chamber, well armed, with eight tall men likewise armed, cuerie of them hauing a bill⁵ in his hand.

'King Richard, perceiuing this, put the table from him, &, steping to the formost man, wrung the bill out of his hands, & so valiantlie defended himselfe, that he slue foure of those that thus came to assaile him. Sir Piers, being half dismaied herewith, leapt into the chaire where king Richard was woont to sit, while the other foure persons fought with him, and chased him about the chamber. And in conclusion, as king Richard trauersed his ground, from one side of the chamber to an other, & comming by the chaire, where sir Piers stood, he was felled with a stroke of a pollax⁶ which sir Piers gaue him vpon the head, and therewith rid him out of life; without giuing him respite once to call to God for mercie of his passed offenses. It is said, that sir Piers of Exton, after he had thus slaine him, wept right bitterlie, as one stricken with the pricke of a gilty conscience, for murdering him, whome he had so long time obeyed as king.'

¹ one day.² to set the dishes on the table.³ to taste the food.⁴ asked.⁵ pike.⁶ an axe fixed on a pole.

Richard's "solemne obsequie." Scene 6. 51, 52.

24. 'After he was thus dead, his bodie was imbalmed, and seered¹, and couered with lead, all saue the face, to the intent that all men might see him, and perceiue that he was departed this life: for as the corps was conueied from Pomfret to London, in all the townes and places where those that had the conueiance of it did staie with it all night, they caused dirige² to be soong in the euening, and masse of *Requiem* in the morning; and as well after the one seruice as the other, his face discouered³, was shewed to all that coueted to behold it.

'Thus was the corps first brought to the Tower, and after through the citie, to the cathedrall church of saint Paule, bare faced; where it laie three daies together, that all men might behold it. There was a solemne obsequie doone for him, both at Paules, and after at Westminster, at which time, both at dirige ouernight, and in the morning at the masse of *Requiem*, the king and the citizens of London were present. When the same was ended, the corps was commanded to be had⁴ vnto Langlie, there to be buried in the church of the friers preachers.'

The conspiracy against Bolingbroke. Act IV. Scene 1. 321—334.

25. 'But now to speak of the conspiracie, which was contriued by the abbat of Westminster as cheefe instrument thereof. Ye shall⁵ vnderstand, that this abbat (as it is reported) vpon a time heard king Henrie saie, when he was but earle of Derby, and yoong of yeares, that princes had too little, and religious men⁶ too much. He therfore doubting now, least if the king continued long in the estate, he would remouue the great beame⁷ that then greued his eies, and pricked his conscience, became an instrument to search out the minds of the nobilitie, and to bring them to an assemblie and councell, where they might consult and commen⁸ together, how to bring that to effect, which they earnestlie wished and desired; that was, the destruction of king Henrie, and the restoring of king Richard. For there were diuerse lords that shewed themselues outwardlie to fauor king Henrie, where⁹

¹ wrapped in a waxed winding-sheet. ² the service of the burial of the dead in the Roman Church; so called from *Dirige, Domine, Deus meus, in conspectu tuo uiam meam* ('Direct, O Lord, my God, my way in thy sight'), the first words of *Psalm* v. 8, the antiphon in this service. Hence *dirge*. ³ uncovered. ⁴ taken.
⁵ must. ⁶ ecclesiastics. ⁷ the wealth of the church. ⁸ commune.
⁹ whereas.

they secretlie wished & sought his confusion. The abbat, after he had felt¹ the minds of sundrie of them, called to his house, on a day in the terme time, all such lords & other persons which he either knew or thought to be as affectioned² to king Richard, so enuious to the prosperitie of king Henrie; whose names were: Iohn Holland earle of Huntington, late duke of Excester; Thomas Holland earle of Kent, late duke of Surrie; Edward earle of Rutland, late duke of Aumarle, sonne to the duke of Yorke; Iohn Montacute earle of Salisburie; Hugh lord Spenser, late earle of Glocester; Thomas the bishop of Carleill; sir Thomas Blunt; and Maudelen, a priest, one of king Richards chappell³, a man as like him in stature and proportion in all lineaments of bodie, as vnlike in birth, dignitie, and conditions⁴.

'The abbat highlie feasted these lords, his speciall freends, and, when they had well dined, they withdrew into a secret chamber, where they sat downe in councell, and, after much talke & conference had⁵ about the bringing of their purpose to passe concerning the destruction of king Henrie, at length by the aduise of the earle of Huntington it was deuised, that they should take vpon them a solemne iusts⁶ to be enterprised betweene him and so on his part, & the earle of Salisburie and so with him, at Oxford; to the which triumph⁷ K. Henrie should be desired, &, when he should be most busilie marking the martiall pastime, he suddenlie should be slaine and destroied, and so by that means king Richard, who as yet liued, might be restored to libertie, and haue his former estate & dignitie. It was further appointed, who should assemble the people; the number and persons which should accomplish and put in execution their deuised enterprise. Hervpon was an indenture sextipartite⁸ made, sealed with their seales, and signed with their hands, in the which each stood bound to other, to do their whole indeuour for the accomplishing of their purposed exploit. Moreover, they sware on the holie euangelists to be true and secret each to other, euen to the houre and point of death.

'When all things were thus appointed, the earle of Huntington came to the king vnto Windsore, earnestlie requiring him, that he would vouchsafe to be at Oxenford on the daie appointed of their iustes; both to behold the same, and to be the discourer and indifferent⁹ iudge (if anie ambiguitie should rise) of their couragious acts and dooings. The king, being thus instantlie¹⁰ required of his brother

¹ sounded.² well-disposed to.³ the Chapel Royal.⁴ qualities.⁵ held.⁶ tilting-match.⁷ tournament.⁸ a sixfold agreement.⁹ impartial.¹⁰ urgently.

in law, and nothing lesse imagining¹ than that which was pretended², gentle³ granted to fulfill his request. Which thing obtained, all the lords of the conspiracie departed home to their houses, as they noised it, to set armorers on worke about the trimming of their armour against the iusts, and to prepare all other furniture and things readie, as to such an high & solemne triumph appertained. The earle of Huntington came to his house and raised men on euerie side, and prepared horse and harnesse for his compassed⁴ purpose; and, when he had all things readie, he departed towards Oxenford.⁵

Its discovery. Act V. Scenes 2. 46—110, 3.

26. 'And, at his comming thither, he found all his mates and confederates there, well appointed for their purpose, except the earle of Rutland, by whose follie their practised⁶ conspiracie was brought to light and disclosed to king Henrie. For this earle of Rutland, departing before from Westminster to see his father the duke of Yorke, as he sat at dinner, had his counterpane⁶ of the indenture of the confederacie in his bosome.

'The father, espieng it, would needs see what it was; and, though the sonne humbly denied⁷ to shew it, the father, being more earnest to see it, by force tooke it out of his bosome; and perceiuing the contents therof, in a great rage caused his horses to be saddled out of hand, and spitefullie reproouing his sonne of treason, for whome he was become suertie and mainperneur⁸ for his good abearing⁹ in open parlement, he incontinentlie mounted on horsebacke to ride towards Windsore to the king, to declare vnto him the malicious intent of his complices. The earle of Rutland, seeing in what danger he stood, tooke his horse, and rode another waie to Windsore in post, so that he got thither before his father, and, when he was alighted at the castell gate, he caused the gates to be shut, saing that he must needs deliuer the keies to the king. When he came before the kings presence, he kneeled downe on his knees, beseeching him of mercie and forgiuenesse, and, declaring the whole matter vnto him in order as euerie thing had passed, obtained pardon. Therewith came his father, and, being let in, deliuered the indenture, which he had taken from his sonne, vnto the king, who thereby perceiuing his sonnes words to be true, changed his purpose for his going to Oxenford.'

¹ being far from suspecting.
about.

⁸ bail.

⁵ plotted by them.

⁹ behaviour.

² intended.

³ kindly, politely.

⁶ a legal word = counterpart, copy.

⁴ brought

⁷ refused.

APPENDIX.

"TIME-HONOURED LANCASTER": I. I. I.

John of *Gaunt* (so called from his birth-place Ghent) was 58 at the time (1398) of the commencement of the action of this play. But Shakespeare describes him as a very old man, as "aged Gaunt" (II. 1. 72); cf. especially I. 3. 216—232. York again is throughout the play "old York" (II. 3. 52), "aged" (II. 2. 72); yet he was only 57. Accordingly Malone explains: "Our ancestors, in their estimate of age or of old age, appear to have reckoned somewhat differently from us, and to have considered men as old whom we should now esteem as middle-aged." He then gives illustrations, e.g. that "Robert, Earl of Leicester, is called an old man by Spenser in a letter to Gabriel Harvey in 1582; at which time Leicester was not fifty years old"; and adds that this different way of reckoning age may have arisen partly "from its being customary to enter into life, in former times, at an earlier period than we do now. Those who were married at fifteen, had at fifty been masters of a house for 35 years." Also, the average length of life was probably shorter.

Personally I cannot help thinking that Shakespeare deliberately changed the ages of the two dukes for dramatic effect. He represents them as the lonely survivors of a grand era—the era of great Edward III. and the Black Prince. Note especially how York appeals (II. 1. 171—183) to the memory of that splendid past, which stands out in such contrast with this degenerate present, when the king is "basely led by flatterers," misgoverns and oppresses his people, and gives up what his heroic forefathers had bled for (II. 1. 252—254). Surely the poet has added vastly to the pathos and dramatic force of this contrast between past and present by placing a wide gulf of years between the two generations of the royal house.

How Shakespeare re-created the character of John of Gaunt has been noticed in the *Introduction*.

II.

THE DEPOSITION-SCENE: IV. I. 154—318.

This scene is one of the most striking and dramatic divergences from Holinshed and history in the whole play. For Richard did not make the resignation in person before the Parliament, and consequently did not read publicly the list of his "grievous crimes" (IV. I. 223). What happened was this. After his arrival in London, whither we saw him set out (III. 3. 208, 209), he was lodged in the Tower, probably on September 2nd, 1399. "Pending the meeting of Parliament summoned in his name for 30 Sept., a committee learned in the law reported that there were sufficient grounds for his deposition, but recommended that before he was deposed the resignation he was understood to be willing to make should be accepted.... On Monday, 29 Sept., a committee of lords and others visited him at the Tower to receive his resignation, and, according to the official account, he insisted on reading himself, and with a 'cheerful mien,' his renunciation of the crown, for which he declared himself wholly unworthy. He expressed a wish that his successor should be Lancaster, on whose finger he placed his royal signet ring. The lords of Parliament assembled next day round a vacant throne in Westminster Hall, accepted his resignation, and decided that the thirty-three counts¹ of accusation drawn up by the committee formed sufficient grounds for his deposition. Henry then seated himself in the vacant throne. On the morrow Richard was informed of what had been done, and that 'none of all these states or people from this time forward either bear you faith or do you obeisance as to their king.' To which he answered that 'he looked not thereafter, but hoped his cousin would be good lord to him.' No voice had been raised for Richard; the famous speech of the faithful bishop of Carlisle, which Shakespeare has made so familiar, rests entirely on the suspicious authority of the '*Chronique de la Traïson*²,' and the probabilities are all against its genuineness"—*Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹ i.e. the "articles" in the paper handed to him by Northumberland; see IV. I. 222—272.

² The French accounts of Richard's last days, such as this *Chronique de la Traïson et La Mort de Richard Deux*, 1402, "being written to bring odium on Henry IV., have to be used with caution"—*Dictionary of Biography*.

Thus Richard forfeited the crown both by resignation and deposition. Holinshed's account of Richard's placing his signet-ring on Bolingbroke's hand may have suggested the highly dramatic transfer of the crown (iv. 1. 181—189). Or, if not an original idea of the dramatist, it may have been due to some other account than Holinshed's of the interview between Richard and the lords (including Bolingbroke) who visited him at the Tower on Sept. 29. For Froissart describes how at this interview Richard, "aparelled like a king in his robes of estate, his sceptre in his hand, and his crown on his head," delivered the sceptre to Bolingbroke, and then "toke the crowen fro his head with both his hands, and set it before him, & sayd: 'Fair cosyn, Henry duke of Lancaster, I geue and deliuer you this crowne wherewith I was crowned king of England, and therewith all the right thereto dependynge'"—Berners's translation of *Froissart*, 1525, II. cccxiii (quoted by Mr Stone). There are one or two indications in *Richard II.* that Shakespeare used some historical source besides Holinshed.

III.

RICHARD'S DEATH.

Shakespeare has followed Holinshed's account of Richard's death. That account rests, as regards contemporary evidence, on the same very doubtful authority as the story of Carlisle's speech. Practically it was disproved when, some years ago, Richard's tomb was opened and his skull was found to bear no marks of blows, though Holinshed says that the king "was felled with a stroke of a pollax which sir Piers gave him vpon the head, and therewith rid him out of life." It is suspicious too that nothing is known of this Sir Piers of Exton. The account therefore is now rejected and the common tradition accepted, that Richard died from starvation, whether voluntary or compulsory.

"The official version seems to have been that, on hearing of the death of his supporters¹, Richard declined food and drink, and gradually pined away 'for-hungred².' Others asserted that the unhappy king was starved to death. If he was murdered, this was much more likely to have been the method adopted than the more violent one at the hands of an unknown Sir Piers of Exton, for which the 'Chronique de la Traïson' is the sole authority" (*Dictionary of National Biography*).

¹ i.e. those implicated in the plot against Bolingbroke; see v. 6. 7, 8.

² i.e. starved to death, literally 'hungred away.'

There was also a wild legend that the body brought to London and afterwards interred at King's Langley was really that of the priest Maudelyn (see **Extract 25**), who resembled Richard closely, and that Richard himself escaped from Pontefract to Scotland. For some years the Scottish government supported a pretended Richard, who served as a kind of menace to the Lancastrian cause in England. Practically, however, the contemporary evidence is conclusive that Richard died from starvation on Feb. 14, 1400. Compare the famous lines in Gray's *The Bard*, 63—82, which speak of Edward III.'s lonely death and Richard's accession, the flattery of his courtiers, the extravagance and splendour of his court, and then (in grim contrast) his miserable end :

“Mighty Victor¹, mighty Lord!
 Low on his funeral couch he lies!
 No pitying heart, no eye, afford
 A tear to grace his obsequies.
 Is the sable Warriour² fled?
 Thy son is gone. He rests among the Dead.
 The Swarm³, that in thy noon-tide beam were born?
 Gone to salute the rising Morn⁴.
 Fair laughs the Morn, and soft the Zephyr blows,
 While proudly riding o'er the azure realm
 In gallant trim the gilded Vessel goes;
 Youth on the prow, and Pleasure at the helm;
 Regardless of the sweeping Whirlwind's sway,
 That, hush'd in grim repose, expects his evening-prey.

 Fill high the sparkling bowl,
 The rich repast prepare,
 Reft of a crown, he yet may share the feast:
 Close by the regal chair
 Fell Thirst and famine⁵ scowl
 A baleful smile upon their baffled Guest.”

¹ Edward III.

² The Black Prince.

³ Courtiers.

⁴ The new king, Richard.

⁵ In his note on this passage Mr Tovey quotes the charge made by the Percies against Henry IV. before the battle of Shrewsbury: “Thou hast caused our sovereign lord and thine, traitorously within the castle of Pomfret, without the consent or judgment of the lords of the realm, by the space of fifteen days and so many nights, with hunger, thirst and cold to perish.”

IV.

PARALLELS IN *KING JOHN*.

The description of England (II. I. 43—49) in Gaunt's famous speech has a close parallel in *King John*, II. I. 21—31, where the Duke of Austria promises to champion the cause of Arthur :

“To my home I will no more return,
Till Angiers and the right thou hast in France,
Together with that pale, that white-faced shore,
Whose foot spurns back the ocean's roaring tides
And coops from other lands her islanders,
Even till that England, hedged in with the main,
That water-walled bulwark, still secure
And confident from foreign purposes,
Even till that utmost corner of the west
Salute thee for her king: till then, fair boy,
Will I not think of home, but follow arms.”

And towards the close (65, 66) of Gaunt's speech we are reminded of Falconbridge's words (*King John*, V. 7. 112—114):

“This England never did, nor never shall,
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
But when it first did help to wound itself.”

Richard's strained fancy in V. I. 46—50 is similar to that in the great scene (IV. I. 104—111) where Arthur pleads with Hubert not to sear his eyes with the iron :

“*Arthur*. Lo, by my troth, the instrument is cold
And would not harm me.

Hubert. I can heat it, boy.

Arthur. No, in good sooth; the fire is dead with grief,
Being create for comfort, to be used
In undeserved extremes: see else yourself;
There is no malice in this burning coal;
The breath of heaven hath blown his spirit out
And strew'd repentant ashes on his head.”

King John was written, no doubt, about the same time as *Richard II.*; probably, just a little later.

HINTS ON METRE.

I. Regular Type of Blank Verse.

Blank verse¹ consists of unrhymed lines, each of which, if constructed according to the regular type, contains five feet, each foot being composed of two syllables and having a strong stress or accent on the second syllable, so that each line has five stresses, falling respectively on the even syllables, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10. Here is an example from *Richard II.*:

“This r^óy^ál thr^ón^e | of k^ín^gs, | this sc^ép^lter’d isle” (II. 1. 40).
The rhythm of a line like this is a “rising” rhythm.

Blank verse prior to Marlowe, the great Elizabethan dramatist whose work influenced Shakespeare, was modelled strictly on this type. Further, this early blank verse was what is termed “end-stopt”: that is to say, there was almost always *some* pause, however slight, in the sense, and consequently in the rhythm, at the close of each line; while the couplet was normally the limit of the sense. As an example of this “end-stopt,” strictly regular verse, take the following extract from the first play written in blank verse, viz. the tragedy called *Corboduc* (1561):

“Why should I live and linger forth my time,
In longer life to double my distress?
O me most woeful wight! whom no mishap
Long ere this day could have bereaved hence:
Mought not these hands by fortune or by fate
Have pierced this breast, and life with iron reft?”

¹ The metre is sometimes called ‘iambic pentameter verse,’ but this and other terms, with the symbols, of Greek prosody should be avoided, since classical metres, Greek and Latin, are based on a different principle from English prosody. The basis of classical metre is the “quantity” of syllables, and this is represented by the symbols – (long syllable) and ~ (short). The basis of English metre is stress or accent (i.e. the stress laid by the voice on a syllable in pronouncing it); and stress should be represented by the symbols ‘ (strong stress) and ‘ (weak).

If the whole of *Richard II.* were written in verse of this kind the effect, obviously, would be intolerably monotonous. Blank verse before Marlowe *was* intolerably monotonous, and in an especial degree unsuited to the drama, which with its varying situations and moods needs a varied medium of expression more than any other kind of poetry. Marlowe's great service to metre, carried further by Shakespeare, was to introduce variations into the existing type of the blank decasyllabic measure. In fact, analysis of the blank verse of any writer really resolves itself into a study of his modifications of the "end-stopt" regular type.

II. Shakespeare's Variations of the Regular Type.

The chief variations found in Shakespeare (some of them often combined in the same line) are these:

1. *Weak stresses.* As we read a passage of blank verse our ear tells us that the stresses or accents are not always¹ of the same weight in all the five feet of each line. Thus in the line

"To wáтч | the féar|ful bénd|ing òf | thy knée" (III. 3. 73)
we feel at once that the stress in the 4th foot is not equal to that which comes in the other feet. A light stress like this is commonly called a "weak stress." Two weak stresses may occur in the same line—rarely together. The favourite place for a weak stress is the last foot, and the use of weak stresses at the end of a line increases in Shakespeare's blank verse, the tendency of which (as we shall see) is more and more to let the sense and rhythm "run on" from line to line. The foot in which a weak stress is least frequent is the first. It is perhaps with prepositions that a weak stress, in any foot, occurs most often. Here are lines with weak stresses:

"This pré|cious stóne | sét in | the síl|ver séa,

Which sérvés | it ín | the óf|fice òf | a wáll,

Or às | a móat | defén|sive tò | a hóúse" (II. 1. 46—48).

"If yóu | do wróng|fully | seize Hér'|ford's ríghts" (II. 1. 201).

"Nów hath | my sóul | brought fórch | her pró|digy" (II. 2. 64).

"Scóffing | his státe | and grín|ning àt | his pómp" (III. 2. 163).

¹ Dr Abbott estimates that rather less than one line of three has the full number of five strong stresses, and that about two lines out of three have four strong stresses.

"And wé | are bár|ren ànd | beréft | of friends" (III. 3. 84).

"And thesé | extér|nal mán|ners òf | laménts

Are mére|ly shá|dows tò | the ún|seen gríef

That swélls | with sí|lence ín | the tór|tur'd sòul"

(IV. 1. 296—298).

It may not be amiss to remind the young student that in reading a passage of Shakespeare aloud he should be careful to give the weak stresses as weak, i.e. not lay the same emphasis indiscriminately on all the stressed syllables.

2. *Inverted stresses*¹. The strong stress may fall on the first of the two syllables that form a foot—as the student will have observed in several of the lines quoted above. The following extracts also contain examples:

"Stróng as | a tówér | in hópe, | I crý | ainén" (I. 3. 102).

"Dár'st with | thy fró|zen ád|moní|tìon

Make pále | our chéek, | chásing | the róy|al blóod"

(II. 1. 117, 118).

"The bréath | of wórd|ly mén | cánnòt | depóse" (III. 2. 56).

"Cúrrènts | that spríng | from óne | most grá|cious héad"

(III. 3. 108).

"Múst I | do só? | and múst | I rá|vel óut

My wéav'd-|up fól|ly)? Géntle | Northúm|berlánd"

(IV. 1. 228, 229).

"Thou dóst | beguile | me! Wás | thís face | the fáce"

(IV. 1. 281).

Inversion of the stress is most frequent after a pause: hence the foot in which it occurs most often is the first (i.e. after the pause at the end of the preceding line); this is particularly the case in the early plays. There may be two inversions in one line (cf. IV. 1. 236); but they are seldom consecutive. This shifting of the stress generally *emphasises* a word. It also varies the regular "rising rhythm" of the normal blank verse by a "falling rhythm."

3. *Extra syllables*. Instead of ten syllables a line may contain eleven or even twelve. An extra syllable, unstressed, may occur at any point in the line before or after a pause: hence it is commonest in the last foot (the end of a line being the commonest place for a

¹ Cf. Mr Robert Bridges's work, *Milton's Prosody*, pp. 19—21, where Milton's use of inversions is fully analysed and illustrated in a way that helps the study of Shakespeare's inversions.

pause), and frequent about the middle of a line (where there is often a break in the sense or rhythm). Compare

"That Mów|bray háth | receiv'd | eight thou|sand nó(bles)

In náme | of lénd|ings fôr | your high|ness' sóld(iers)"

(I. 1. 88, 89).

"This blés|sed plót, | this eá|rth, | this reá|lm, | this É|ng(land)"

(II. 1. 50).

"I|ere cómes | his gráce | in pér(son). | My nó|ble ún(cle)!"

(II. 3. 82).

"Plays fón|dly with | her téars | and smíles | in mé|et(ing)"

(III. 2. 9).

"Is gó|ne | to mé|et | the kíng, | who láte|ly lánd(ed)

With só|me | few pri|vate fríends" (III. 3. 3, 4).

"My ló|rd | 'tis nó(thing).

No mát|ter, thén, | whó sees (it)"

(V. 2. 58).

An extra syllable, unstressed¹, at the end of a line, as in the first and last of these examples, is variously called a "double ending" and a "feminine ending." The use of the "double ending" becomes increasingly frequent as Shakespeare's blank verse grows more complex. "Double endings" increase² from 4 per cent. in *Love's Labour's Lost* to 33 in *The Tempest*, middle plays such as *As You Like It* having a percentage of about 18. The percentage of "double endings" is therefore one of the chief of the metrical tests which help us to fix the date of a play. In fact the use of "double endings" is the commonest of Shakespeare's variations of the normal blank verse. The extra syllable at the end of a line not only gives variety by breaking the regular movement of the ten-syllabled lines, but also, where there is no pause after it, carries on the sense and rhythm to the next line.

Sometimes two extra syllables occur at the end—less commonly, in the middle—of a line. Compare

"By sí|ght | of whát | I háve, | your nó|ble cóm(pany)" (II. 3. 18).

"To ál|l | his lánds | and sígn(ories): | when hé's | retúr'n'd"

(IV. 1. 89).

¹ An extra syllable that bears or would naturally bear a stress is rare in Shakespeare. The use of such syllables at the end of a line is a feature of Fletcher's verse, and the frequent occurrence of them in *Henry VIII.* is one of the metrical arguments that he wrote a good deal of that play. Milton has one or two instances in *Comus*; cf. 633, "Bore a bright golden flower, but not in this (soil)."

² The metrical statistics in these "Ilints" are taken from various sources.

"F'rst, to | thy sá|cred státe | wish Í | all háp(piness)" (v. 6. 6).

This licence is specially frequent with the scansion of proper names; compare

"It múst | be gránt|ed Í | am Dúke | of Lán(caster)" (II. 3. 124).

The number of lines with two extra syllables increases much in the later plays of Shakespeare.

4. *Unstopt (or Run-on) verse.* The blank verse of Shakespeare's early plays shows clearly the influence of the rhymed couplet which he had used so much in his very earliest work. In his early blank verse the rhyme indeed is gone, but the couplet form remains, with its frequent pause of sense, and consequently of rhythm, at the end of the first line, and its still more frequent stop at the end of the second. Lines of this type mark only the first step in the evolution of blank verse: freedom in the expression of sense and varied rhythm are still absent; and freedom and variety come only when the sense "runs on" from one line to another.

If at the end of a line there is any pause in the sense, however slight—such a pause for instance as is marked with a comma—the line is termed "end-stopt." If there is no pause in the sense at the end of the line it is termed "unstopt" or "run-on." There is a progressive increase of "unstopt" verse in the plays. The proportion of "unstopt" to "end-stopt" lines is in *Love's Labour's Lost* only 1 in 18 (approximately); in *The Winter's Tale* it is about 1 in 2. The amount, therefore, of "unstopt" verse in a play is another of the metrical tests by which the period of its composition may, to some extent, be inferred.

The rhythm of a line depends greatly on the sense: where there is any pause in the sense there must be a pause in the rhythm. The great merit of "unstopt" blank verse is that the sense by overflowing¹ into the

¹ The overflow is helped by the use of "light" and "weak" endings to a line. "Light endings" are monosyllables on which "the voice can to a small extent dwell": such as the parts of the auxiliary verbs, *be, have, will, shall, can, do*; pronouns like *I, we, thou, you, he, she, they, who, which*, etc.; and conjunctions such as *when, where, while*. "Weak endings" are those monosyllables over which the voice passes with practically no stress at all—e.g. the prepositions *at, by, for, from, in, of, on, to, with*; also *and, but, if, nor, or, than, that*: all words which go very closely with what follows and therefore link the end of one line with the beginning of the next. The use of these endings belongs to the later plays. "Light endings" are first numerous (21) in *Macbeth* (1606), and "weak endings" (28) in *Antony and Cleopatra* (1608). Some of the early plays have neither "light endings" nor "weak." Some have a very few "light endings." Of "weak endings" no play has more than *two* up till *Antony and Cleopatra*. The proportion of these endings—"light" and "weak"—is therefore another of the metrical tests applied to the later plays (Ingram).

next line tends to carry the rhythm with it, and thus the pauses in the rhythm or time of the verse, instead of coming always at the end, come in other parts of the line.

5. *A syllable slurred.* "Provided there be only one accented syllable, there may be more than two syllables in any foot. 'It is he' is as much a foot as 'tis he'; 'we will serve' as 'we'll serve'; 'it is over' as 'tis o'er.'

"Naturally it is among pronouns and the auxiliary verbs that we must look for unemphatic syllables in the Shakespearian verse. Sometimes the unemphatic nature of the syllable is indicated by a contraction in the spelling. Often, however, syllables may be dropped or slurred in sound, although they are expressed to the sight" (Abbott).

This principle that two unstressed syllables may go in the same foot with one stressed syllable is very important because feet so composed have a rapid, almost trisyllable effect which tends much to vary the normal line. This trisyllabic rhythm is a recognised element of English verse, especially in the foot which classical prosody calls an anapaest (—). Examples are:

"Nóthing but | some bónd | that hé | is én|ter'd ín(to)" (v. 2. 65).

"A dōzen | o' them héré | have tá'en | the sá|cramént" (v. 2. 96).

This licence is specially characteristic of the later plays. Examples are:

"Bút that | the séa, | móunting | to the¹ wél|kin's chéek"

(*The Tempest*, I. 2. 4).

"And héré | was léft | by the saí|lors. Thóu, | my sláve"

(*The Tempest*, I. 2. 270).

"Hím that | you térm'd, sir, | 'The goód | old lórd, | Gonzá|lo'"

(*The Tempest*, v. 1. 15).

"My Ré|gan cóun|sels wéll: | cóme out | o' the stórm"

(*King Lear*, II. 4. 312).

"I' the lást | night's stórm | I súch | a féll|ow sáw"

(*King Lear*, IV. 1. 34).

6. *Omissions.* After a pause or interruption there is sometimes an omission (a) of an unstressed syllable (oftenest in the first foot), or (b) of a stress, or (c) even of a whole foot.

"It is obvious" (says Abbott) "that a syllable or foot may be supplied by a gesture, as beckoning, a movement of the head to listen, or of the hand to demand attention": or the omission may be accounted

¹ Sometimes in such cases the Folio prints *th'*, showing that the word was meant to be slurred (Abbott).

for by an interruption, such as the entrance of another character, or by a marked pause or break in the sense. Compare

(a) "Má|ny yéars | of há|py dáy | befál" (I. I. 20).

"Thén | the wh|ning schoól|boy with | his sát|chel"

(As *You Like It*, II. 7. 145).

(b) "Flátte|rers! [*Turns to Brutus*] | Now Brú|tus thánk | yourself!"

(*Julius Caesar*, V. I. 45).

"Messá|la! [*Messala turns and salutes*] | Whát says | my gén|erál?"

(*Julius Caesar*, V. I. 70).

(c) "Of múch | less vá|ue is | mý com|paný

Than yóur | good wórds. [*Pauses and points*] | But whó | comes
hére?" (II. 3. 19, 20).

So in II. 3. 67; III. 3. 19, and V. 5. 67 (where Richard bows ironically).

7. *Lines of irregular length.* Shakespeare uses lines of three feet often (II. 2. 71, 118 etc.); less frequently, lines of two feet (II. 2. 61, 90); especially to break the course of some very animated speech (II. 2. 115); half-lines occasionally (III. 3. 35); brief questions and exclamations, which metrically need not count; and rarely lines with six strong stresses, i.e. Alexandrines¹ (the type of verse which ends each stanza in *The Faerie Queene*).

As a rule, the use of a short line corresponds with something in the sense, e.g. a break (as at the end of a speech), agitation, conversational effect of question and answer, strong emphasis. Thus in I. 3. 123 the short line is obviously followed by a pause during which the two combatants approach to hear the king's decision. In II. 2. 115 and 118 the broken, disjointed rhythm is part of the irregularity which marks all the latter portion of York's speech (from line 101) in conformity with his bewildered frame of mind. In III. 3. 35 the effect is that of the formal, emphatic commencement of an oath or document. At the close of a speech a short line gives perhaps greater emphasis, and certainly variety.

There is at least one genuine Alexandrine in *Richard II.*, viz. III. 4. 74. There are also numerous lines which look like Alexandrines ("apparent Alexandrines," as Abbott calls them) but which on examination are found not to have six unmistakable stresses. Thus in each

¹ So called either from Alexandre Paris, an old French poet who used this metre, or from the *Roman d'Alexandre*, a 12th century poem about Alexander the Great, written in rhymed lines of six feet, in couplets. It is the metre of French tragedy (e.g. of the tragedies of Racine and Corneille).

of the following lines one syllable or more can be slurred or elided or treated as extra-metrical.

- (a) "As néar | as Í | could sift | him òn | that ár(gument)" (I. 1. 12).

An unstressed vowel of a polysyllable (like *u* in 'argument,' *e* in 'enemy,' *i* in 'easily') may be slurred or almost ignored.

- (b) "And quite lóst | their héarts : | the nóbles háth | he fin'd" (II. 1. 247).

- (c) "As blánks, | benév'lences, ànd | I wót | not whát" (II. 1. 250).

The *s* of the plural and possessive cases of nouns of which the singular ends in *s*, *se*, *ss*, *ce* and *ge* is often not sounded, being absorbed into the preceding *s* sound (Abbott).

- (d) "Repróach | and dísolú|tion háng|eth ó'er (him)" (II. 1. 258).

- (e) "Persuádes | me 't's óth|erwise : | howe'er | it bé" (II. 2. 29).

- (f) "The nóbles | they're fléd, | the cóm|mons théy | are cóld" (II. 2. 86).

A final *le* (as in 'noble'), *el*, or *er* is often slurred thus, especially before a vowel. Still, the line may be an Alexandrine :

"The nóbles théy | are fléd, | the cóm|mons théy | are cóld."

- (g) "And ín't | are the Lórd's | of Yórk, | Bérkeley, | and Séy(mour)" (II. 3. 55).

Lines with proper names are often irregular.

- (h) "It máy | be I'll gó | with yóu : | but yét | I'll páuse" (II. 3. 168).

- (i) "Hath seí'z'd | the wáste|ful kíng. | [O] what pí|ty ís't" (III. 4. 55).

Here and in IV. 1. 129 *O* is perhaps to be ignored in the scansion, on the principle that ejaculations (like *φευ* in Greek) often stand outside the regular line (Abbott).

- (k) "To bú|ry míne | intén'ts, | but álso | t'efféct" (IV. 1. 329).

The following lines I cannot explain except as Alexandrines: II. 2. 25; V. 3. 21; V. 4. 2.

Some seemingly six-foot lines are really "trimeter couplets": that is, "couplets of two verses of three accents each...often thus printed as two separate short verses in the Folio....Shakespeare seems to have used this metre mostly for rapid dialogue and retort, and in comic and the lighter kind of serious poetry" (Abbott). Generally some notion of division is suggested. Examples of these couplets in *Richard II.* are: II. 3. 29, which has an extra-metrical syllable in the latter part, viz. in *togeth(er)*; III. 1. 28, where there is an obvious break, as Bolingbroke turns from the prisoners to the officers; IV. 1. 19 (divided between two

speakers, as is often the case with the trimeter couplet); IV. 1. 171, where the equal division represents the strong antithesis.

These, then, are the chief modes by which Shakespeare diversifies the structure of regular blank verse. Their general result has been well summed up thus: that they make the effect of Shakespeare's maturer blank verse rather rhythmical than rigidly metrical, i.e. more a matter of stresses distributed with endless variety than of syllables calculated and accented according to a normal standard. Every student should grasp these variations thoroughly, particularly the first five, and observe the illustrations of them that occur in any play (especially the later plays) that he may be studying.

And he must, of course, remember that scansion depends much on the way in which a writer abbreviates or lengthens sounds, as the metre requires.

Abbreviation comprises all the cases in which a syllable does not count metrically—whether it be elided¹, contracted, or slurred. Many abbreviations belong to everyday speech, others to poetical usage.

Of lengthening of sounds the most important example is the scansion of a monosyllable as a whole foot².

For full details the student must refer to the standard authority, viz. Dr Abbott's *Shakespearean Grammar*, pp. 344—387.

III. Shakespeare's use of Rhyme.

In his early plays Shakespeare uses the rhymed couplet³ very largely; but gradually the amount of rhyme declines, so that the proportion of rhymed couplets in a piece is one of the surest indications of the period to which it belongs.

Is there much rhyme? the play is early.

Is there little rhyme? the play is late.

"In *Love's Labour's Lost* there are about two rhymed lines to every one

¹ Cf. the occasional elision of *the* and *to* before a vowel, e.g. "Th' unstoópling firm|ness óf | my úp|right soúl" (I. 1. 121); "T'envé|lope and | contain | celéstial spírits" (*Henry V.* I. 1. 31).

² Cf. *hours* (I. 2. 7); *stay* (I. 3. 118); *fire* (I. 3. 294); *may* (II. 1. 148); *pale* (V. 2. 57); and possibly *years* in I. 1. 20. So *fare* in '*farewell*' is treated as two syllables sometimes,

³ i.e. of five feet in each line; cf. for instance I. 1. 154—205.

of blank verse. In *The Comedy of Errors* there are 380 rhymed lines to 1150 unrhymed. In *The Tempest* two rhymed lines occur; in *The Winter's Tale* not one" (Dowden).

In applying the rhyme test we must exclude the cases where there is a special reason for the use of rhyme. Thus the rhyme of the Masque in Act IV. of *The Tempest* has no bearing whatsoever on the date of the play, because Masques were usually written in rhymed measures. Similarly all songs such as we get in *As You Like It*, *The Tempest*, and *The Winter's Tale* must, of course, be excluded.

Let us consider for a moment the reasons which led Shakespeare to adopt blank verse and gradually abandon rhyme.

As a medium of dramatic expression blank verse, of the varied Shakespearian type, has these points of superiority over rhyme:

1. *Naturalness*. Rhyme is artificial. It reminds us, therefore,—perhaps I should say, never lets us forget—that the play *is* a play, fiction and not reality, because in real life people do not converse in rhyme. Especially in moments of great emotion does rhyme destroy the illusion of reality: we cannot conceive of Lear raving at Goneril in rhymed couplets. Blank verse on the other hand has something of the naturalness of conversation, and naturalness is a very great help towards making fiction appear like truth.

2. *Freedom*. The necessity of rhyming imposes restraint upon a writer such as blank verse obviously does not involve, and often forces him to invert the order of words or even to use a less suitable word. The rhythm too of the rhymed couplet tends strongly to confine the sense within the limits of the couplet, whereas in the blank verse of a skilful writer the sense "runs on" easily from line to line. In fact, in the rhymed couplet the verse is apt to dominate the sense; while in blank verse the sense finds unfettered expression. And so blank verse has not only something of the naturalness but also something of the freedom of conversation.

3. *Variety*. In a paragraph of rhymed couplets the pauses in the sense and therefore in the rhythm are monotonous. We constantly have a pause at the end of the first line and almost always a pause at the end of the second. With the uniformity of a passage composed in this form contrast the varied rhythms of such blank verse as that of *The Tempest*, where the pauses are distributed with ever-changing diversity of cadence.

Again, the rhyme of a long narrative poem when read, or of a short lyric when recited, has a pleasing effect; but in a long spell of spoken

verse I think that the sound of rhyme, though at first agreeable to it, gradually tires the ear.

What rhyme we do get in Shakespeare's later plays is mainly at the end of a scene, when it serves to indicate the conclusion, and (less commonly) at the close of a long speech, when it forms a kind of climax. As to the former use Dr Abbott says: "Rhyme was often used as an effective termination at the end of the scene. When the scenery¹ was not changed, or the arrangements were so defective that the change was not easily perceptible, it was, perhaps, additionally desirable to mark that a scene was finished."

And just as rhyme often marks the close of a scene or situation (II. I. 209—214), so it sometimes marks the close of a chapter in a man's career, and suggests farewell. A striking example of this use of rhyme occurs in *As You Like It*, II. 3. 67—76, where old Adam and Orlando, about to set forth on their expedition, severally bid farewell to their former life. Similarly in *Richard II.* II. 2. 140—147, the rhyme expresses the feeling of the King's favourites that their period of prosperity is over and they are parting for ever; while in V. 5. 109—118, it emphasises the tragedy of the close of Richard's life. Again, in *King Lear* (a comparatively late play, 1605—1606) the banished Kent is made to use rhyme in his leave-taking (I. I. 183—190). See also *Richard II.* II. 4. 21—24; V. I. 79—102.

One other noticeable purpose of rhyme is found in plays as late as *Othello* (about 1604) and *Lear*, viz. to express moralising reflections on life and give them a sententious, epigrammatic effect. Dowden instances *Othello*, I. 3. 202—219, and II. I. 149—161. This use of rhyme is natural because proverbial wisdom so often takes a rhymed form. Maxims stick better in the memory when they are rhymed. See II. I. 7, 8, 27—30.

¹ There was no movable scenery; the only outward indication of the locality intended was some stage 'property'—e.g. "a bed to signify a bed-chamber; a table with pens upon it to signify a counting-house; or a board bearing in large letters the name of the place"—Dowden.

HINTS ON SHAKESPEARE'S ENGLISH.

THE following elementary hints are intended to remind young students of some simple but important facts which they are apt to forget when asked to explain points of grammar and idiom in Shakespeare's English.

To begin with, avoid using the word "mistake" in connection with Shakespearian English. Do not speak of "Shakespeare's mistakes." In most cases the "mistake" will be yours, not his. Remember that things in his English which appear to us irregular may for the most part be explained by one of two principles:—

- (1) The difference between Elizabethan and modern English;
- (2) The difference between spoken and written English.

(1) As to the former: what is considered bad English now may have been considered good English in Shakespeare's time. Language must change in the space of 300 years. Elizabethan English, recollect, contains an element of Old English, i.e. inflected English that had case-endings for the nouns, terminations for the verbs, and the like. By the end of the 16th century most of these inflections had died out, but some survived, and the influence of the earlier inflected stage still affected the language. Often when we enquire into the history of some Elizabethan idiom which seems to us curious we find that it is a relic of an old usage. Let us take an example.

There are numerous cases in Shakespeare where a verb in the present tense has the inflection *-s*, though the subject is plural; cf. the following lines in *Richard II.* II. 3. 4, 5:

"These high wild hills and rough uneven ways
Draws out our miles, and *makes* them wearisome."

The verbs *draws* and *makes* appear to be singular: but probably each is plural, in agreement with its plural antecedents *hills* and *ways*; *s=es* being the plural inflection of the present tense used in the Northern dialect of Old English. In the Southern dialect the

inflection was *eth*; in the Midland *en*. When Shakespeare was born all three forms were getting obsolete; but all three are found in his works, *eth*¹ and *en*² very rarely, *es* or *s* many times. His use of the last is a good illustration (a) of the difference³ between Shakespearian and modern English, (b) of one of the main causes of that difference—viz. the influence of a still earlier inflected English.

(2) A dramatist makes his characters speak, and tells his story through their mouths: he is not like a historian who writes the story in his own words. The English of a Play which is meant to be spoken must not be judged by the same standard as the English of a History which is meant to be read. For consider how much more correct and regular in style a book usually is than a speech or a conversation. In speaking we begin a sentence one way and we may finish it in another, some fresh idea striking us or some interruption occurring. Speech is liable to constant changes, swift turns of thought; it leaves things out, supplying the omission, very likely, with a gesture; it often combines⁴ two forms of expression. But a writer can correct and polish his composition until all irregularities are removed. Spoken English therefore is less regular⁵ than written English; and it is to this very irregularity that Shakespeare's plays owe something of their lifelike reality. If Shakespeare made his characters speak with the correctness of a copybook we should regard them as mere puppets, not as living beings.

Here is a passage taken from *Henry V.* (iv. 3. 34—36); suppose that comment on its "grammatical peculiarities" is required:

"Rather proclaim it...

That he which hath no stomach to this fight,

Let him depart."

Two things strike us at once—"he *which*" and "That he...let him depart." "He *which*⁶" is now bad English; then it was quite regular English. The student should say that the usage was correct in Elizabethan English, and give some illustration of it. The Prayer-Book will supply him with a very familiar one.

"That he...let him depart." A prose-writer would have finished

¹ Cf. *hath* and *doth* used as plurals. See Abbott, p. 237.

² Cf. *wax-en* in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. i. 56; see *G.* to that play.

³ Another aspect of it is the free Elizabethan use of participial and adjectival terminations. Cf. "deceivable," II. 3. 84; "despised," II. 3. 95; "detested," II. 3. 109.

⁴ Cf. III. 3. 192.

⁵ Cf. v. 3. 10—12.

⁶ Cf. I. i. 173; II. i. 108.

with the regular sequence "*may* depart." But Henry V. is supposed to say the words; and at the moment he is deeply stirred. Emotion leads him to pass suddenly from indirect to direct speech. The conclusion, though less regular, is far more vivid. This brief passage therefore exemplifies the difference (a) between Elizabethan English and our own, (b) between spoken English and written. It is useful always to consider whether the one principle or the other can be applied.

Three general features of Shakespearian English should be observed:

- (1) its brevity,
- (2) its emphasis,
- (3) its tendency to interchange parts of speech.

Brevity: Shakespeare often uses terse, elliptical turns of expression.

The following couplet is from *Troilus and Cressida* (I. 3. 287, 288):

"And may that soldier a mere recreant prove,

That means not, hath not, or is not in love!"

Put fully, the second line would run, "That means not *to be*, hath not *been*, or is not in love." Cf. again *Richard II.* v. 5. 26, 27:

"Who sitting in the stocks refuge their shame,

That many have and others must sit there";

i.e. 'console themselves with the thought that many *have sat* there.' This compactness of diction is very characteristic of Shakespeare. For note that the omission of the italicised words, while it shortens the form of expression, does not obscure the sense, since the words are easily supplied from the context. That is commonly the case with Shakespeare's *ellipses* or omissions: they combine brevity with clearness. Cf. the omission of the relative pronoun, a frequent and important *ellipse*, in I. 1. 50; II. 1. 173; III. 3. 169; IV. 1. 334; V. 4. 2.

Emphasis: common examples of this are the double negative (I. 3. 185, 186, 188; V. 5. 39, 40), and the double comparative or superlative (II. 1. 49; III. 3. 137).

Parts of speech interchanged: in Shakespearian English "almost any part of speech can be used as any other part of speech...You can 'happy' your friend, 'malice' or 'foot' your enemy, or 'fall' an axe on his neck (Abbott)." Cf. "neighbour," I. 1. 119; "safeguard," I. 2. 35; "stranger," I. 3. 143; "venom," II. 1. 19; "sour," II. 1. 169; "grave," III. 2. 140; "sunshine," IV. 1. 221; "cloister," V. 1. 23; "refuge," v. 5. 26.

I. INDEX OF WORDS AND PHRASES.

This List applies to the Notes only; words of which longer explanations are given will be found in the Glossary. The references are to the pages.

Abbreviations: n. = noun. trans. = transitive. vb = verb.

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